



# **Role of Jews in the Arab Israeli Conflict**

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## ABSTRACT

### ROLE OF JEWS IN THE ARAB ISRAELI CONFLICT



Palestine, situated as it is in the heart of the Middle East, is the core of the problems of this region, where both Arabs as well as the Jews lived together in peace, good will and amity for centuries past. Jerusalem was sacked in A.D. 70 by Titus, the Roman conqueror whence the Jews disappeared from the scene. When Muslims conquered the land again, the Jewish escapees from Spanish Persecution and the sufferers of massacres both in Europe and the Holy Land at the hands of the Crusaders <sup>were</sup> given shelter in the Muslim lands until the emergence of Zionism which radically altered the situation and the same land where Muslims and Jews had co-existed for ages past turned it an alien and strange land for the former where their life, property, dignity, and self-respect, nothing remained safe.

The Christian Europe closed its doors on the Jews, banished them from their lands and confiscated or destroyed their property. They made an attempt in 1840 to persuade the Sultan of Turkey to give them concessions and allow their mass migration <sup>to</sup> as well as colonisation <sup>in</sup> to the Holy Land. The British in whose sphere of influence this region lay, issued directives to the British Consul in Jerusalem to extend every possible support to the Jews who were British subjects. This

directive carried the seeds of declaration that came to be known as the Balfour Declaration (1917) after its author Lord Balfour which sought to accommodate the Zionists aspirations.

The period from the end of the nineteenth century to World War I saw the involvement of Palestine, though indirect, in two movements: the Arab nationalist movement and the Zionist movement. Through the efforts of eminent Zionists like Leon Pinsker, Moses Hess, Theodore Herzl, and Chaim Weizmann, Jewish lobbies became active in France, England, Holland and the USA and tried to mobilise public opinion as well as the administration of these respective countries in favour of creating a 'National Home for the Jews in Palestine' to save them from anti-Semitism, even though the leaders of the movement were prepared for alternatives like Uganda, etc. Jewish societies and organizations especially in the European countries and America began consistently to settle the idea of large scale Jewish immigration to Palestine and colonization therein. However, the American Jewry played a vital role that no other force did in the realization of the Zionist aims.

During World War II since the Allies were in need of the support of the Jews and were ready to oblige them, Jewish efforts were centred on extracting a guarantee from the Allies to recognize Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth open to unres-



stricted immigration of the Jews. Contradictory commitments, however, were made both to the Arabs as well as the Jews - to the former of independence and to the latter of a 'National Home' in Palestine. Thus came the Balfour Declaration of 1917 - an act of treachery as the Arabs termed it while welcomed by the Zionists. But it did not go beyond the promise of a 'National Home' and sought at the same time to safeguard the interests of the people who lived there and were in a majority. It was only later on that this 'National Home' was tailored into a Jewish State. Schools, Colleges, technical institutes, agricultural and communal settlements were established with finances pouring in from the Jewry the world over; secret organizations came into being, training <sup>in</sup> military techniques acquired such as that imparted by the British Officer Orde Wingate who organized night squads.

The British, having encouraged Zionist activities in Palestine initially, faced a dilemma when confronted by the stiff resistance, anger, and unrest from the Arabs. As a Mandatory the British administration did every thing eventually to help in the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. The League of Nations, by articles 2, 4, and 6 of the Mandate, expressed agreement with the principle of establishing a 'National Home' for the Jews in Palestine. The Arabs revolted against the bartering away of their heartland by a third party. Arab-

Jewish riots broke out. The Commissions that were appointed to find out ways and means to bring the two sides closer having failed, Partition of Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish State was recommended by the Peel Commission in 1937.

The British issued the White Paper of 1939 to restrict Jewish immigration and allay Arab fears denying that they wanted to establish a Jewish State in Palestine, which was bitterly resented by the Jews. This shifted the centre of gravity of the Jewish political activity from Great Britain to America. The latter, however, extended wholehearted support to the Jewish demand of establishing a Jewish State in Palestine. Subsequent events proved that the United States became the greatest supporter of the Jewish<sup>State</sup> from the hour of its birth through the present day and provided both material and moral support to the Jewish State enabling it not only to safeguard its existence but embark upon unlimited expansionsim by waging destructive wars against the Arabs. As a result Israel has come to occupy to day an area which far exceeds the boundaries that were originally assigned to it under the U.N. Partition Plan of 1947, and to which the U.S. was a party. No resolutions of the United Nations sanctioning Israel and enjoining upon it to respect the Charter of Human Rights, to abide by

the U.N. mandate were ever heeded by the Zionist State as it was always sure of the U.S. backing in whatever it did.

The Christian anti-Semites and the Nazis who created the Jewish problem thus atoned for their sins by making Arabs pay on their account. Judaism was sullied and corrupted by Zionism which also violated the sanctity of the land preserved over the ages by Muslims, Christians and Jew alike.

After twenty-seven years interspersed by four major wars and countless minor or moderate conflagrations, this strife-torn land, its inhabitants - the Arabs and the Jews - and the world at large, need peace. Real peace that follows a sense of security and faith in the future is not dependent upon continuous military build-up, because the question that precedes the sense of peace and security persists in this situation, and that is : Who will emerge victorious in the next encounter. Four major wars have failed to bring real peace which is followed by a sense of security and confidence in the future - a peace that takes into account the restoration of rights of the indigenous population. The ingredients of peace in the Arab-Israeli situation would mean the withdrawal of Israel to the boundaries assigned to it under the Partition Resolution of the United Nations; withdrawal from Arab lands occupied during the entire period of her existence, and restoring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Peace precludes the existence

of a Zionist State, rather it makes imperative the creation and sustenance of a liberal, democratic, secular State where people of all denominations - Arabs, Jews, and Christians - irrespective of their religion, and language can live in peace, amity, security and prosperity.

Owing to the interplay of a complex set of forces both at the national as well as international and big power fronts, a solution of the problem appears so much close at hand<sup>now</sup> as it never was. I have thoroughly sifted the data obtained from official as well as private sources, from Arab as well as Jewish sources, etc. analysed them, and have presented them in tabular form wherever possible. I have made an attempt in the thesis to point out that it is the financial contribution and moral and material support of the world Jewry, more especially that of the United States that has not only sustained the State of Israel but has encouraged it to embark upon an expansionist policy that, with each new aggression, has made it adopt a more uncompromising posture vis-a-vis its Arab neighbours thereby making the solution of the problem more difficult, if not totally impossible.

The study has also led me to believe that the support from the world Jewry, and again that of the United States, has almost reached its limits. With the Western World in the grip of serious recession and inflationary conditions, and the Arab

world in control of its life blood, i.e., oil, and its financial reserves mounting at an unprecedented pace it is becoming increasingly difficult for the former to maintain a clearly pro-Israeli stance and to ignore the Arabs to the extent they have been ignored.

Even the Jews are awakening to the reality that the growing economic and political strength of the Arabs combined with sophistication in their diplomatic behaviour and information media, have on the one hand seriously eroded their credibility in the outside world, and on the other hand started a process of rethinking at home and a reassessment of policy by its chief ally, the United States.

The results of the fourth Arab-Israeli confrontation have, if any thing, served to dispel certain illusions about the eternal weakness of Arabs and the absolute invincibility of Israel. As a result realistic thinking has begun to dawn upon the parties involved in the dispute directly or indirectly and has provided an stimulus to the process of rethinking and reassessment.

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## P R E F A C E

The Arab world has remained a beleaguered region ever since the imposition of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 ignoring the basic norms of justice and equity to which they were as much entitled as any other people on the surface of the globe. The partition of their heartland, i.e., Palestine, in 1948, to accommodate Zionism and help it establish a national home for the Jews in a part of Palestine, was how the Western World atoned for the crimes committed against the Jews under the Nazi regime. But surely crimes against one people could not be obliterated by committing crimes against another people in favour of the former - the crimes that have been committed against the Palestine Arabs are no less heinous than the Nazi crimes against the Jews, to borrow the words of the British historian Arnold Toynbee.

The Partition of Palestine set off a chain of events, and what was essentially a conflict between the Palestine Arabs and the Jews from different parts of the world transplanted on the former's soil against their will, came to involve the entire Arab world, leading oftentimes to a situation which brought the world to the brink of another global war with unpredictable consequences.

While a formidable volume of literature has appear-

ed on the subject of the Arab-Israeli confrontation, little attention has been paid to the role of world Jewry in the creation and continuance of the problem. In the following pages I have made an attempt to study the Arab-Israeli problem from the point of view of the involvement of the 'outsiders' and their role in the Middle East scandal..

I have, as far as has been possible, avoided the use of propaganda literature, and also to be objective in my study, which is based mainly on official publications such as British official papers, Facts About Israel, U.A.R. Yearbook, etc., government reports, white papers, diaries and memoirs of the leading personalities who have, in one way or the other, had a bearing on the issues, e.g., United States President Truman, Presidents Nasser and Sadat, Theodor Herzl, Chaim Weizmann, Ben Gurion, and others; newspapers and magazines from the West, the Arab world as well as Israel, like Time, News Week, New York Times, London Times, Al-Ahram, Al-Nahar, Ma'ariv, Ha'aretz, News from Israel, etc. etc.; major studies that have been published on the issue putting forward viewpoints of either side as well as the neutrals; and, finally, documents of the United Nations and its various agencies, namely, General Assembly, the Security Council, UNEF, UNRWA, UNSCOP, etc.

The thesis has been divided into eight chapters followed by a bibliography of primary source material as well as secondary publications. The first chapter presents a historical background of the Jews, the Christian antipathy towards them, the persecution and segregation leading to the birth of Zionism, Theodore Herzl's role in the movement, and the various Zionist Congresses. The Second chapter deals with the Balfour Declaration and the consequences that followed the Declaration.

In the third chapter an attempt has been made to assess the impact of Jewish immigration and colonization in Palestine, their participation in civil administration, and emergence of para-military organizations. The fourth deals with the United States Jewry and its financial and political support to Jewish immigrants in Palestine, as well as United States President Harry S. Truman's Pro-Zionist leanings.

The fifth chapter discusses the problem as it was treated by the United Nations resulting into the Partition of Palestine, and making room for American and Zionist pressures to play their respective roles. In the sixth chapter is described the birth of the Israeli State, with

the attendant paraphernalia, i.e., Knesset (Parliament), political parties etc. and how the world Jewry reacted to the emergence of the State. The seventh chapter describes the in-gathering of the Jews in Palestine and its inevitable result, viz., the uprooting of the local Arab population; financial assistance, and political and diplomatic support of world Jewry to the State of Israel.

In the concluding Chapter is presented a brief summary of the preceding seven chapters along with a discussion on the four Arab-Israeli wars (starting from that of 1948 to the October 1973 war) and the consequences to which they led. An attempt has also been made to outline a solution of the problem stressing that any solution other than the one which takes into account the rights of the Palestinians, and does not provide for the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories it has occupied as a result of the four wars outside those boundaries assigned to her by the U.N. Partition Resolution would not be lasting, nor would it contribute to a durable peace in the region.

## CHAPTER 1

### THE JEWS AND PALESTINE IN HISTORY

The Middle East, designated earlier as the Near East, and known more lately as 'West Asia and North Africa', is a region with a recorded history of four millenia. It is the fountain-head of civilization, the cradle of world's three great religions - Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, - a meeting point of philosophies and cultures, languages and literatures, and a confluence of Eastern and Western ways of life. The area extends from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans and is inhabited by well over a hundred million peoples - predominantly Muslims. It includes the whole of North Africa, the Arab crescent comprising the area between the Mediterranean and the Arab Gulf, and the Arabian Peninsula.

Geographically, it occupies a unique position by virtue of its being situated at the junction of Europe, Asia and Africa, commanding the strategic approaches to the three continents, and providing the shortest and most convenient trade routes from Europe to Asia. Politically, it has now become the nerve centre of big-power rivalries, for it is this region around which revolves global politics. The discovery, in modern times, of the world's largest oil reserves in this region - the sap of life of the industrialised nations of the East and West - has added another significant dimension and has thus endowed it with yet greater potential, both of creation as well as destruction.

The geographical and physical features of the area provide an answer to the endemic character of the crises in the Middle East. This area in the context of Arab awakening, Arab - Jewish conflict and global power struggle cannot help becoming a great problem area in world politics.<sup>(1)</sup> The great powers whose interests in this area are thereby involved, directly or indirectly, are competing for the favours of the new ruling groups or striving to push them overboard and preserve the status quo. So in recent years most of the countries of the world have paid their attention towards it. In fact, the Middle East crisis, i.e., Arab-Israeli confrontation, is a part of an international crisis around the leaders of the two power groups - the United States and the Soviet Union.

The core of the problem of the Middle East may be said to lie in Palestine. It is situated in the heart of the Middle East. This area is part of the Arab world, it is bounded on the North by the Republic of Syria and Lebanon, on the West by the Mediterranean and on the South by the Sinai desert of Egypt and the Hejaz territory of Saudi Arabia, and on the east is the state of Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea. Palestine is roughly 240 miles long and 23 miles wide in the North and about 80 miles wide in the South. Its area

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(1) J.K. Banerji, The Middle East in World Politics (Calcutta, 1960), p.3.

approximately (excluding Trans-Jordan) is 10,000 sq. miles. (2)

Palestine for centuries has been known as a land of peace and prophets. History, geography, economics and power politics have, however, combined to turn it into the most inflammable area in the world. It is for the most part a chronicle of successive invasions and conquests. It was invaded at different times by different peoples the Philistines, the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Persians, the Romans, the Crusaders and the Turks.

#### JEWISH CONNECTION WITH PALESTINE

The origins of the Jewish connection with Palestine go back to the remote realms in which history is merged with religious tradition. The Bible tells the story of God's Command to Abraham to go forth from his native land of Ur, to what came to be known as Palestine which country he promised to grant its descendents. According to legend, Abraham had two sons - Ismael and Issac. Ismael, because of his mother being a Coptic slave, was forced to leave his father's land and become an exile. The Arabs of today trace their descent from him. In his turn, Ismael's brother Isaac became the ancestor of some of the Ismaeli tribes. The Arabs and the Jews belong to the same Semitic race and could be legitimately called cousins.

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(2) The Afro-Asian Journalist 7(1), March 1970, p.6. See Encyclopaedia Americana, Vol. XXI, p.197

In this regard history is able to tell some thing. We know generally that during the second millennium B.C. there were periodical incursions of Semitic tribes from the Syrian desert into the land lying on the sea coast of Mediterranean. One of these tribes or group of tribes claims descent from Abraham of Ur and is known as Hebrews or Israelites. After three generations of combined existence in the land, the Hebrews voluntarily migrated to Egypt. They were later conquered by the Babylonians. Then came Alexander the Great followed by the successive waves of victorious Roman legions.

The Jewish element had virtually disappeared with the sacking of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, when Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, the Roman conquerer, who also decided to banish most of the Jews from the area. The period between the inquest of Titus and the entry of a newly emerging religion, Islam, was perhaps the most difficult time for the Jews. They were banished from the area and were dispersed over various parts of the globe. "After the fall of Jerusalem in that year the Jews of Judaea repeatedly rebelled against their Roman overlords until finally, in A.D. 135 Jerusalem was razed to the ground and the remaining Jews were killed or expelled from their homeland."<sup>(3)</sup>

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(3) The Arab-Israeli Conflict, the 1967 Campaign.  
(Keesing's Research Report, New York, 1968), p.1.



An important fact to remember is that contrary to popular belief, the Arabs and the Jews have lived together in peace and harmony for hundreds of years. From the Spanish Inquisition down to the persecutions of Tsarist Russia, the Jews fleeing from Europe found asylum, shelter and tolerance in the Arab and Muslim world. The best example of this peaceful co-existence of the Arabs and the Jews was to be found in Palestine itself prior to the emergence of Zionism.

For almost two thousand years, during which the Jews scattered throughout the world (the Diaspora or Dispersion), the hope of an eventual return to the land of their ancestors was kept alive generation to generation. During the twenty centuries of the Diaspora, the land of Palestine has been under Muslim rule, and formed part of the province of Syria with which historically it has always been closely connected. It was part of the greater province of Syria and its fortunes fluctuated according to the fortunes of that province. Most of the prominent Arab families of Palestine in the 20th century are descendants of the feudal lords during the first period of the Ottoman rule in the 16th century.

Palestine is a loosely defined geographical area with little specific national tradition in its history. In the third quarter of the eighteenth century an Arab Sheikh succeeded for a short time in establishing an independent principality in north Palestine in defiance of the Ottoman authority, but

the Turks soon crushed the rebellion. Palestine later came under Egyptian control for a while between 1832 and 1840, after which it reverted to direct Ottoman rule as an administrative province of Damascus.<sup>(4)</sup>

The first Jewish settlements to return to Palestine for religious reasons - were brought in about 1855, but in the 1880's Jews of a different type, mainly from Russia and Poland, began to enter Palestine as agriculturists with the aim of colonizing the land. Largely as a reaction to anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe - notably Russia and Russian Poland, - the Zionist movement was founded in 1897 by Theodor Herzl with the aim of "establishing for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine" to be achieved by promoting there the settlement of Jews to Palestine as pioneers, and from 1881 until 1914 these agricultural colonisation increased from 25,000 to about 80,000.<sup>(5)</sup> They constituted a minority compared to the Arabs, but certainly a noticeable one.

In fact they did not escape the unfavourable attentions of the Turks, who victimised the Jews during the Great War and caused the Jewish population to drop, through emigration to 50,000. With the assistance of the Arab rebellion against the Turks, the British forces finally

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4. Charles Douglas-More, The Arabs and Israel (London, 1968), p.14.  
5. The Arab-Israeli Conflict, Keenings' Research Report (fn.3), p.2.  
See also Ministry of National Defense, Lebanese Army, Al-Qadiyya al-Filastiniyya wa'l-Khatar al-Sahuni (The Palestine Question Conflict and the Zionist Danger). (Beirut, 1973), p.123.

conquered the territory in 1917-1918.

What prompted the Jews to think of returning to Palestine?

The question has baffled the sympathisers of the Zionist movements and its opponents alike without exception. Not that the founders of the Zionist movement pretend that the Jews, ever since their rule was brought to an end by the Romans till the time the British forces marched into the Holy land, continued to live in groups in Palestine smarting under poverty and persecution, but they survived because of their strong will.

The Romans, the Byzantinians, the Persians, the Arabs, the Turks, the Memlukes, the Mongols, and the Ottomans ruled over them in succession. But not for a day did they abandon their hope of regaining their lost glory.

The extremist Zionists say that their ancestors fought for the independence of their land in the year 70 B.C. and hundreds or thousands of their sons lost their lives for the cause. A large number of them were forced to live in Diaspora, political exile and economic deprivation. But hardly had six years passed over the rule of the Romans that the fire of uncontrollable rebellion spread spearheaded by a leader claimed to be "Bar Kochba" who did not take long to recover the Aqsa Mosque and hold it for three years

from 132-135 A.D. until the Romans overran them, sacked their property, destroyed their strongholds, and burnt their villages. About six hundred thousand Jews died before the revolt could be quelled. It was thus that the city of Qads became a Roman city and was given the name "Eliya ka Betulina" just as the Jewish State has given it the name of Palestine. The Jewish refugees began to pour in Egypt, Iraq, and some European countries. There did not remain in Palestine save a few thousand Jews. They were not allowed to visit the Aqsa Mosque except once in a year and that too for the purpose of praying and wailing on the destruction of their place of worship.

"After the destruction of Jewish Jerusalem by the Romans in the first, and the gallant but doomed revolt of Bar Kochba, in the second century A.D., a Jewish patriarchy survived in Palestine until the year 429. But Alexandria and Babylon became the most important centres of Judaism, and from there the Jews spread out into Arabia and Southern Europe and along the South Mediterranean littoral. From A.D. 800 onward the Jews, under benevolent Islamic rule, prospered in Spain. Islam indeed was immensely more tolerant than primitive Christendom".

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(6) Pritte Terence, Eshkel of Israel,  
(London, 1969) pp.5-6.

When war broke out between Byzantine and Persia, the former refused to accept their defeat in which the Israelis had sided with the Persians..They repelled the Jews, destroyed their houses, confiscated their property, and converted them forcibly to Christianity.(7)

It, therefore, sounds strange that the Talmud which, as I have mentioned earlier, the Jewish jurists canonised, consists of directives with definite religious aims, for example, the Talmud says: "The Jew who wants to leave Palestine cannot force his wife to accompany him, on the contrary, if he wishes to stay in the Holy Land and his wife refuses to live with him, he can divorce her", or, "The one who walks four steps in the Holy Land, God will reserve for him a place in Paradise", or, "It is better for you (the Jews) to stay in the Palestine desert than to live in a grand palace", or, "The reward for living in the land of Promise is similar to the reward for obeying God as was advised by the Prophet Moses", or, "The man who lives in Palestine has all his sins forgiven by God", and so on.(8)

This is what the Jewish faith is based upon, which the early Jews adopted to perpetuate their aim to

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(7) Hadhihe Hiya al-Sahyuniya (This is Zionism) (Cairo,1956), p.24. U.A.R. Ministry of Education.

(8) Ibid., p.25.

achieve "their" land - the Land of Promise. These extracts are clearly meant to give them a temptation to settle down in Palestine. The condition of the Jews improved during Caliph Umar's time when they were given the liberty to settle in Jerusalem. They were also allowed to build their place of worship near the Wailing Wall.

In the eighth century the ruling Arab dynasties witnessed an in-fighting, and the condition of the Jews deteriorated after the transfer of capital from Damascus to Baghdad. Their affairs came under the jurisdiction of tyrannic rulers from Jerusalem, and the Turks suppressed them and visited upon them all kinds of sufferings. This situation persisted until the Seljuk Turks gained control of the Land of Palestine. The Turks were followed by the Crusaders whose rule proved even more catastrophic for the Jews. They were not content merely with driving out the Turks, but they extended it to the massacre of Muslims and Jews alike. The Jews and Muslims joined hands in defending Jerusalem with all their might, but their combined strength could not save Jerusalem from falling into the hands of the Crusaders who drove the rest of the Jews to their temple and burned them alive, slaughtered thousands of them on whom they could lay their hands, as also sold thousands of others in the

in the slave markets.

Under Charlemagne the Jews began to lose the full rights of citizenship and to provide with a form of passport which accorded them "protection". In 1096 the first crusade brought on massacres of the Jews, in both Europe and the Holy Land, and for the next 100 years the Crusaders continued periodically to cut the Jews to the sword.<sup>9</sup>

In 1169, 30 years after this upheaval, a Jew named Ben Yamin di Todel visited Palestine for the first time, and on collecting statistics found that only about one thousand families were living in Palestine at that time.

Another Jew Be Tahya from "Tatspon" visited the Land of Promise in 1175, but did not find any Jews in the Aqsa Mosque except the one who was running a dyeing shop.<sup>10</sup>

It was only in 1187 after the victory of Salah-al-Din Ayyubi over the Crusaders that an era of prosperity and stability was ushered in, and his personal physician Maimoni mediated and obtained his approval for the return of the Jews to their lands. This shot up the rate of Jewish

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9. See Terence (fn.6), p.30.

10. Hadhie Hiya al-Sahyunia (fn.7), p.26

immigration from the West European countries to Palestine comprising various groups of different nationalities wherein they were brought up originally.

#### PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN EUROPE

In the beginning of the twelfth century, the Jewish population of the European countries found itself confronted with the vengeance of these governments and their people, so much so that in 1271 King Edward 1 of England issued a decree for the deportation of two hundred Jews who were charged with stealing British currency by reducing its weight and mutilating it, and in 1290 he issued another decree expelling the Jews from England until Cromwell allowed them back more than 350 years later. The hatred of the British people for the Jewish money-lenders grew more, so not being content with expelling them, the King had them imprisoned in the fortress of Port - in which they had protected themselves - set fire to the fortress with whatever Jews were inside whose number is estimated to have been about 500. The Jews were also expelled by Louis IX, the King of France, and he issued a decree whereby the liability of the Government of France, the Church and the common people to the Jewish debtors was reduced by one-third, and also ordered to burn their books, especially the Talmud. The French people also launched a big campaign to drive out



the Jews from France in 1341, with the result that by 1394 there were hardly any Jews left in France. King Ferdinand of Spain issued a command for the expulsion of Jews from Spain on March 31, 1492 in order to save the country from a bloodbath that could occur as a consequence of confrontation between the Jews and the Spaniards.

The Ayyubids and the Meluks ruled Palestine until the Turks overthrew them in 1517. The rate of Jewish immigration from Spain to Palestine considerably rose in the wake of their religious persecution tribunals of inquisition in Spain. The four centuries Turkish rule was characterised by maladministration, oppression, imposition of heavy taxation that made life equally miserable for the Arabs and Jews of Palestine. The situation continued till Mohammad Ali came to power and overthrew the Turks from Palestine in 1832. He introduced social, economic and educational reforms, except that the taxes still remained more or less the same as under the Ottoman regime. The Palestine Arabs revolted against their rule. They recovered Jerusalem, held it firmly, they did not spare a single Jew whose property was not confiscated.

It was Napoleon Bonaparte who put before the Jews the first official proposal during his expeditions

against Egypt and Syria. This official proclamation was issued on 20th April, 1799, in which the French commander called upon the Jews of Asia and Africa and urged them to assemble under his banner so that he could restore to them their lost grandeur and their legitimate rights denied to them for thousands of years. But, no sooner had Napoleon's call reached the Jews than he disengaged himself from the seige of Acre and returned to his country.

Lord Byron has immortalised the expulsion of Jews in his Hebrew poetry when he said, "The white pigeon has a small nest, the fox his abode, and every human his homeland except the Jews for whom only graves are their dwelling places".<sup>(11)</sup>

<sup>(12)</sup>  
Then came Disraeli who was sympathetically disposed to the problem of the Jews as described in his play, "David Akrawa", and put the following words into the mouth of its hero: "You ask me about my greatest wish, I say, "It is the promised land". You ask me where do my dreams play", and I say, "Jerusalem!" You ask me what does bewitch my heart, I say "It is the synagogue".

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(11) Hadhie Hiva al-Sahyunia (fn.7), p.30

(12) "The Disraeli family left Spain in the sixteenth century to escape, and settled at Ferrare in Italy. About 1750, Benjamin Disraeli moved to England. His grandson, another Benjamin, was born in London in 1804, and was converted to Christianity at the age of thirteen."

(13) Walter Laqueur, A History of Zionism (London, 1972), p.43. See also, Hadhie Hiva al-Sahyunia (fn.8).

"Indeed, I mean whatever we have missed since olden times, and all that our hearts yearn for, and that which our great grandfathers struggled to recover - our sweet home land, our sacred faith, our simple habits, and our ancient traditions."

Moses Haim Montefiore, an Italian from Legorn city, who travelled to Palestine,<sup>(14)</sup> testified on his return from there in 1837 that the number of Jews there did not exceed eight thousand, and that they were distributed over Jerusalem, Sabath, Tabariya and Khalil towns. During his journey he also called on Mohammad Ali, the man who had Palestine ceded to Egypt by the Sultan of Turkey.

Sir Moses (the title of Sir was conferred upon him the preceding year), travelled to Palestine a second time in 1838 and wrote in his memoirs "Sabbath 24 from May 1839" the following:

"Whatever information I have been able to gather it abundantly clear to me that the surrounding land appears to be suitable especially for agricultural development. There are olive groves which I believe are as old as five hundred years; vine yards, vast grass lands, and a large

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14. Alfred M. Lilienthal, What Price Israel? (Beirut, 1969), p. 166. See Leonard Stein, The Balfour Declaration (London, 1961), pp. 14, 71.

number of wells. Fig trees, wheat and barley cultivation is also found. In fact this is a soil that can produce anything in plenty with not so much investment in terms of expertise and labour. I am sure if the plan that I have conceived succeeds, it will ensure the realization of happiness and prosperity in the holy land. I will soon approach Mohammad Ali to lease us the land for fifty years and 100-200 villages in lieu of which I will pay him a profit ranging between ten to twenty per cent, to be paid to him annually in Alexandria on the condition that the land and villages are exempted from all kinds of taxes for the entire lease period, and on the condition also that I will have exclusive proprietary rights to dispose of the yield in any part of the world I choose. If I am able to obtain the lease, I seek the help of God, on my return from England, I will establish an enterprise to take care of agriculture and to encourage our co-religionists in Europe to return to Palestine.

A large number of Jews are migrating to South Wales and Canada, but they can find in the holy land more numerous and better opportunities for successful ventures. They will soon find here dug up wells, olive trees, and vineyards come of age, and a fertile land that would not

require much toil. I am hope that, with the passage of time, I will create conditions that would attract a large number of our co-religionists to the land of Israel and I am quite sure that they will be immensely happy to see that the way of life of our sacred faith has enjoined upon us was impossible to practice in Europe.<sup>(15)</sup>

As it turned out, Egypt did not agree to grant the desired lease to Sir Moses. He was, however, able to obtain it in 1840 through Lord Palmerston on condition that the British Consuls in the East themselves should give an understanding to protect the Jews.

The British Consul in Jerusalem sent a message to Palmerston on March 14, 1839, the concluding sentences of this message deserve to be quoted in full:

"There are, My Lord, two parties to be noticed who will doubtless consider them entitled to some voice in the future disposition of affairs here: The one is the Jew unto whom God originally gave this land for a possession, and the other The Protestant Christian, his legitimate offspring. Of both Great Britain seems, I would humbly suggest, the natural guardian. And they are beginning here to take up their position among other ~~elements~~.<sup>(16)</sup>

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15. Mahmud Kamil Al-Mohami, Al-Dawlat al-Arabiya al-Kubra (The Great Arab Empire), (Cairo, 1966), p.290.

(16)  
claimants.

Palmerston made his first move in 1840 and remarked, that, there existed at present, he wrote:

Among the Jews dispersed over Europe a strong nation that the time is approaching when their nation is return to Palestine .... It is well known that the Jews of Europe possess great wealth, and it is manifest that any country in which a considerable number of them might choose to settle would derive great benefit from the riches which they would bring into .... The Jewish people, if returning under the saction and protection of the Sultan, would be a check

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16. A.L. Tibawi, British Interests in Palestine (London, 1961), p. 37

Foreign Office (78/1368); Care must be taken not to exaggerate the place of either the Holy Land or the small and inarticulate Jewish community in the history of British diplomacy in the nineteenth century. Neither the country per se nor the small Jewish minority was a major factor in general British policy. This is confirmed, in a practical manner by H. Temperley and L.M. Penson in their Foundations of British Foreign Policy from Pitt (1792) to Salisbury (1902), (Cambridge, 1938). Palestine is mentioned only twice in this massive work: once casually in connexion with the eviction of Muhammad Ali (pp. 121 f.) and again in connexion with the Crimean War (pp. 135 f.).

upon any future evil designs of Mehemet Ali or his successor... Even if the encouragement held out by the Sultan to the Jews were not practically to lead to the settlement of any great number of them within the limits of the Ottoman Empire, still the promulgation of some law in their favour would spread a friendly disposition towards the Sultan among the Jews in Europe, and the Turkish Government must at once see how advantageous it would be to Sultan's cause thus to create useful friends in many countries by a single edict."(17)

On 4 November 1840, the British Ambassador in Constantinople was reminded that "The Jews.... are.... a sort of Free Mason fraternity whose goodwill would be useful to the Sultan".(18)

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(17) Stein (fn.15), p.6. Quoted by F.S. Rodky, Journal of History (Chicago, June 1930), citing F.O.78/392 (Record Office).

(18) Palmerston to Ponsonby, 4 September 1840, Webster, The Foreign Policy of Palmerston, 1830-1841 (London, 1951), p.11, 762 and 763, note 1.; Holland, The European Concert in the Eastern Question (London, 1885), pp.98-99.

In February 1841 Palmerston went a step further. It would be highly advantageous to the Sultan, he wrote to Ponsonby, 'That the Jews who are scattered through other countries in Europe and Africa should be induced to go and settle in Palestine. But the Jews, he pointed out, would require 'some real and tangible security', and his proposal was that they should be able to count on British protection and 'allowed to transmit to the Porte, British authorities, any complaints which they might have to prefer against the Turkish authorities."<sup>19</sup>

In 1841 a conference was held in Dublin. Its five resolutions included a recommendation for British intervention in settling the Jews in Palestine. Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, declared that he would do every thing in his power to ensure that the lives and property of Jews was safe and secure in Palestine. Subsequently Lord Shaftesbury tried his mediation for the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine through guarantees from the Great Powers. He presented a memorandum to the Foreign Secretary during the London Conference of 1840. The matter was finalised when Palmerston issued his directives to the

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19. Palmerston to Ponsonby, 17 February 1841, quoted by Temperley, England and the Near East (London, 1936) p.110 See Stein (fn .15) p.5.



British Consul in Jerusalem to extend his support to those Jews who were British subjects. This support was probably the foundation stone of the Balfour Declaration given to the Jews in the year 1917.

In 1845 Sir Moses Montefiore succeeded in obtaining the land in Palestine to be developed and utilised by forty-five Jewish families from Sabath.<sup>(20)</sup>

That is because, he was keenly interested in Jewish colonisation in Palestine and protected his ideas under the guardianship of Britain.<sup>(21)</sup>

In 1854 Sir Moses Montefiore joined hands with the Chief Rabbi of England, Natan Adler, and the two together collected thirty thousand pounds to meet the relief requirements of the Jews in Palestine afflicted by famine in the wake of the Crimean war and the former obtained a fresh mandate for the Jews which would confer on them the rights of ownership of the land. Then he purchased some land in Jerusalem and Jaffa, and established a school, a mill and also founded two agricultural co-operatives in Safad and Tabariya.

In 1860 Ernest Laharanne, Private Secretary to Napoleon III, published a brochure, *la NOUVELLE QUESTION D'ORIENT*, in which he appealed to the Jews to devote themselves to the

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20. Al-Mohami, (fn.15) p.290.

21. Herbert Sidebotham, Great Britain and Palestine (London, 1937), pp.46-47.

rehabilitation of Palestine 'sous l'égide sacrée de cette, France 'manipatrice'.<sup>(22)</sup> In 1867 the Empress Eugenie was reported to have given her patronage to a Committee formed in Paris for the rehabilitation of Palestine and the encouragement of Jewish immigration. By this time the Zionist Movement was already beginning to be foreshadowed in the writings of men like Moses Hess (1812-1875)<sup>(23)</sup> whose <sup>(24)</sup> *Rom und Jerusalem*, in which he quotes extensively from Laharanne, was to become a Zionist Classic.

'Do you still doubt', Hess asked, "That France will help the Jews to found colonies which may extend from Suez to Jerusalem and from the Banks of the Jordan to the coast of the Mediterranean?... France will extend the work of redemption also the Jewish nation... Frenchmen and Jews! It seems that in all things they were created for one another...."<sup>(25)</sup>

Did the French Government show any real interest in connection between the Jews and Palestine?

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22. Sokolow, I, 179; 11.251-252 and See Stein (fn.15) p.11.

23. Hess was born in Germany but spent most of his later years in Paris.

24. Published in 1862.  
Moses Hess,

25. *Rom und Jerusalem*, Waxman's translation from the original German (New York, 1943), pp.149. 167, 168.

In its political warfare in 1915-1916 it emitted some vague expressions of sympathy with Zionist aspirations, but not until 1917 did it begin to take them seriously, and then only because it was anxious to neutralise Zionist support for the British claim to Palestine in competition with its own. The French public opinion was equally indifferent.

In Palestine a large number of Jewish children received their education with a strong French bias, in schools maintained by The Alliance Israelite Universelle - "an organisation which, though designed at its foundation in 1860 to appeal to Jews in all parts of the world, was from the outset under French leadership and had after 1870 a purely French complexion." (26)

In 1869, the first attempt to establish a Jewish agricultural school near Jaffa. This school known as Mi Kweh Israel, has been described by the historian of Zionism as "Foster-mother of the Jewish colonies in Palestine. The Jewish Colonization Association conducted its activities from Paris, took over the administration of the Rothschild colonies in 1899 and later founded others on its own account." Paris was the headquarters of The West European branches of the Chibbath Zion (Love of Zion) Movement, which has an important place in Zionist

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(26). Stein (fn.14), p.12.

pre-history." (27) The French could not afford to do or promise anything which might estrange their most reliable clients in the Levant, the Syrian Christians. The time came in the spring of 1917 when Jewish support seemed for the moment to have some importance both for Great Britain and for France. So far as the Zionists were concerned, France was not in the running.

A few years later, the Turkish Government began to restrict the admission of Jews to Palestine, Great Britain associated herself with the Powers in appealing to the Turks, though with no marked or lasting success, not to discriminate against Jewish immigrants. To this extent British goodwill could still be relied upon, but there was no direct British encouragement of Zionist aspirations until 1902, when the Balfour Government was approached by the Zionist Organisation with proposals for a Jewish settlement in the Peninsula of Sinai. (28)

Briefly speaking, the tragedy started in the late 19th century when under wide-spread Zionism,

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(27). Stein (fn.14), p.13

(28). Ibid. p.17

some settlements of Jews from Poland, Russia and Rumania were sought to be established in the Holy Land which at that time was a part of the Ottoman Empire. It is interesting to note that this wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine took place at the same time when West European colonialism started to reach out towards the Arab world. From the end of the 19th century to World War I, Palestine was indirectly involved in two movements. The first was the Arab nationalist movement which had began to take shape in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Second, was the religio-political publication of his pamphlet "The State of Jew" in 1896. Herzl has devoted his life to the cause of creating the first Zionist Congress at Basle, Switzerland, on 27 August 1897. (29)

For the creation of Israel, the manifesto of Bilu 1882 was also significant. In the very beginning some of the Bilu groups, i.e. a student and youth organization in Russia as well as farm workers in Palestine, made their way to Palestine without preliminaries. According to the manifesto of Bilu several resolu-

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(29). George Lenczowski, The Middle East in World Affairs (Ithaca, March 1962) p.373.

tions had been adopted with a view to founding a Jewish national home in Palestine.<sup>(30)</sup> In particular Herzl was supported in his efforts by Lord Rothschild, the head of the Anglo-Jewish Community. Their idea was to create a Jewish colony in British territory either in the Sinai peninsula or in Cyprus. But the Jewish settlement in Cyprus was opposed by the native population. Herzl negotiated with the British Government and was able to obtain their commitment in favour of Uganda<sup>(31)</sup> as a territory for the Jewish National Home. But due to strategic and imperialistic considerations this idea was finally given up. In 1904 Herzl died but Zionism continued as a powerful movement. In the United States the Zionist organization largely recruited members from among East European Jews.<sup>(32)</sup>

#### THE JEWISH ENLIGHTENMENT:

A movement was started in Germany by Moses

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(30). Walter Laqueur, The Israel-Arab Reader, (London, 1970), p.3.

(31). An East African country then a colony of Great Britain.

(32). Lenczowski (fn.29), p.373.

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Mendelson and was known as the enlightenment movement. Its aim was to awaken the eastern Jews from their deep slumber, and to encourage them to return to the land of promise. It was also aimed at persuading the Jews to assimilate with the native populace, acquire their habits, cultures, and languages in the lands of their temporary abode, till they become genuine citizens and achieved equality in civil rights with the rest of the people. The movement brought about contrary results for the Jews in Russia who violated the commandments of Talmud (that exerted great influence on their beliefs) in order to save themselves from the wrath of the Tsarist decrees, that had made them a victim of oppression. They hoped thus to improve their lot.

We may wonder if the western Enlightenment, which was beginning to reshape the Weltanschauung of the

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(33). Mendelssohn: Moses Mendelssohn, German Jew, born of a poor ghetto family of Dessau in 1729, Mendelssohn spent his earliest years in typical Orthodox Jewish surroundings.

Christian world, also exercised any influence on the intellectual outlook of Western Jewry. Clearly emancipation could not ~~effective~~ have been extended effectively as an act of grace from above unless the Jewish community was prepared intellectually and emotionally for entrance into the West. Without doubt the great majority of Western Jews, still living in an avowed world of parochialism and Talmudic dialectic, was quite unaware of currents of humanism that swirled through Western society and lepped at the very walls of the ghetto. The Jewish world was a dreary one, with few cultural compensations for its 18th century inhabitants. (34)

The enlightenment movement, however faded out as a consequence of the massacre of Jews during 1882, sponsored by official agencies in Russia. The cornerstone of this movement was faith in the belief that no real life could be possible for the Jews anywhere except on the land of their ancestors - the land of promise. The society of the lovers of Zion was formed

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(34). Howard M. Sachar, The Course of Modern Jewish History, (New York, 1958), p.46.



having the spread and revival of the Hebrew language as its first and foremost task as a pre-requisite to their migration to Palestine and the exploitation of its land.

But the Turkish government enacted a law at the time prohibiting the entry of the Jews into Palestine even as the government of the Tsar had banned their emigration. This frustrated the hopes of the Jews to colonize Palestine on a large scale.

The growth of these societies began to mature in the wake of the massacres of Jews in 1881 at the behest of Alexander II, Tsar of Russia, when the following year, i.e. in 1882 some legal decrees were issued against the Jews known as the "May Laws". Later on, during 1881-1885 there was some liberalisation of the decree with a view to relaxing the numerous restrictions imposed upon the Jews and assimilating them into the Russian laws.

The Jews of Russia had sentimental outlets in dreams of Zion: Western Jewish leaders as Moses Montefiore and Charles Netter, the latter representing the Alliance, visited Palestine, and established a few schools there for children of the Chalukah mendicants, but this philanthropy was animated by no

Jewish national purpose. More specific Zionist contact with the land of Palestine was needed to prime the pump of emigration there. During the 1880's, small numbers of nationalist zealots organized Zionist groups in the cities of the Pale.<sup>(35)</sup>

Leon Pinsker, Jewish physician from Odessa, was one of the leaders of this assimilation movement. When the "May Laws" came into force, Pinsker began to propagate the theory that the Jews should guide themselves according to a plan of self emancipation.

In 1882, Leon Pinsker, who was also a reputed author, published his book "Auto-Emancipation"<sup>(36)</sup> in which he presented the picture of the miserable and ignominious condition of the Jews in the following words: "Are we really a nation living among nations? What is the place of the Jews in the community of nations? Do we have a say in our Affairs. Our homeland is an alien country where there is no life for us. Our society among

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(35). Ibid, p.267

(36). Lillienthal, (fn.14) p.13. See also Ben Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State (Cambridge, 1961), p.15.

all the nations is an unveiled hostility for whosoever is a Jew. Our arms are humiliation and misery, our only means of defence, escape. As for our future, it is secret hidden in the innermost of the invisible ..... and the Jews play a very lowly role on the theatre of life." Pinsker then continued, "The entire world scorns the Jews because they are a lifeless nation, because they are aliens wherever they live. Their civil and political emancipation therefore does not justify the elevation of their position to that of all the other nations. The only effective treatment of this incurable malady is the creation of Jewish nationality for these people to enable them to live in their native land." Pinsker suggested that the various organizations should sit together on a round table. He decided to purchase some land in Palestine by offering high prices to the land owners to induce them to sell their land. Then he reserved some funds for the purchase of land to be exploited by the poor among the immigrants. This was the Pinsker plan presented in its broad outline, in which he explained at length that the rational solution for the Jewish

problem was to gather all in Palestine or in any other country. The Jews themselves realized the importance of this plan for the solution of their problem and thought that anti-Semitism would never disappear until and unless they possess a national home exclusively for themselves.

Pinsker turned to the convening of a national conference for the realisation of this objective. His views had great impact on the world Jewry, but did not bear fruit, and therefore, he was forced to join hands with the Association in its previous plans of colonizing Palestine. The first Jewish national conference was held in 1884 under the presidency of Pinsker in Silesia. But for the liberal donations from Baron Edmond Rothschild, despair and gloom would have overcome the Jews who had migrated to Palestine and they would have returned to their original places.

#### THE HOVEVE ZION

Lovers of Zion (37) collected money, conducted glee clubs. In the classic pattern of all embryonic national groups they pioneered gymnastic and selfdefence Organization which they called Maccabee Clubs. Of course these meetings

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(37). Halpern (fn.36), p.15.

had to be conducted secretly, often disguising themselves as wedding parties, for Zionism was an illegal movement in Russia. When the Hoveve Zion conducted their national convention, in 1884, they were obliged to meet in the city of Kattowitz in Upper Silesia, then a part of Germany, where they elected Dr. Leon Pinsker as the president of the Organization. In large part, it was this meeting in secrecy which centralized the leadership in the Russian-Jewish students who were registered at German and Austrian Universities. (38)

The leaders of the society for the Lovers of Zion would not leave their brethren to live on the donations of the beneficent and on the charity poured on them from all sides. They, therefore, held two conferences in 1884 and 1887 respectively and resolved therein to propose a scheme for providing money to the immigrants to buy new lands.

The scope of the society of the Lovers of Zion widened subsequently towards the last decade of the nineteenth century and its activities extended from Russia to other European countries. Rumania was the

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(38). Sachar (fn. 34), p. 267

first country where the Zionist movement found strong support after the Jews there were treated as outlaws by the official agencies. In Austria, however, the national elements looked down upon the Jews, banned their entry in the Universities and enrolment in sports associations. The Jewish Associations joined hands with a view to encouraging immigration, into Palestine. The foremost among these associations was the 'Kadimah' which was patronised by the journalist called "Bir Nbaum", the man who is credited to have first used the expression "Zionist Movement".

In Germany, another student organization was formed along with the society of the Lovers of Zion. Among its members was Chaim Weizman, the man who later became the first President of the State of Israel.

There appeared an unknown propagandist who held meetings under the title "anonymous", and decided upon a policy different and away from that adopted by the Lovers of Zion, and made a distinction in favour of Zionist thought as a spiritual philosophy rather than the material Zionism. This controversy affected the Jewry throughout the world. But a number of members of the Lovers of Zion made a common cause with this association.

The money that the lovers of Zion were able to collect through donations for improvement of the lot of Jews did not exceed £5,000 annually. How could this meagre amount compare with the millions of francs that the Baron was able to spend.

It was because of this that the members of this society began to lose hope of success and such feelings found expression in their annual conference held in Europe in 1896 and from then on its days became numbered.

The humanistic activity of the Jews were beginning to make their appearance in Jewish life as early as the 15th or 16th centuries, when the Italian Renaissance became the centre of interest for isolated groups of Jewish intellectuals. From the end of the 17th century to the French Revolution several hundred Jews managed to attend German Universities as well as a large variety of secondary schools. It was Moses Mendelssohn who was associated with the significant glowing of Jewish Enlightenment. His career bridged the worlds of the Yiddish and the German language philosopher nor a penetrating theologian, nor even a Jewish spokesman of exceptional courage. Moses Mendelssohn nevertheless

emerges as the key personality of Western European Jewry in the early modern era.

#### THE DIASPORA:

While Palestine struggled for liberation from the yoke of Rome, other Jewish communities were becoming increasingly important from the development of Jewish life. They tested the strength of Judaism and helped prepare it to live outside its original home.

It is very difficult to know how many Jews lived in these scattered communities. A reasonable guess estimates that there were about eight million Jews in the world just before the conflict with Rome. The Jews of the Diaspora were by no means all wealthy. Most of them were poor, earning a meager livelihood from manual labour. Jewish beggars were to be seen on the streets of Rome and Alexandria. The Jews were hired as soldiers in various armies.

The Diaspora to the west of Palestine had given very little aid during the first rebellion 115-117. The centre of Jewish life in Babylonia played



a most important role in the survival of the Jews in other lands.

In about 820 A.D. two Jews, Domates and his nephew Samuel, asked Louis <sup>(39)</sup> for a document stating that they were under his protection when he gave it, he was, though both he and Domatus would have been surprised to hear it, creating an entirely new status for the Jews in Europe, a status which lasted until the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, which started the movement to make Jews full citizens of the countries where they lived. <sup>(40)</sup>

The first few years after the fall of Jerusalem, by contrast with what had gone before, were not, strange as it may seem, an altogether unhappy time for the Jews.

#### THE DARK AGES IN THE WEST

In the East the Empire maintained some sort of order, but the life of its Jewish subjects became no easier. In the West there was almost complete confusion

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(39). Louis was the son of Charlemagne

(40). Lady Magnus, Outline of Jewish History (London, 1958), p. 88.

for many generations until gradually new state arose. Lombards in Northern Italy, Francks in France, Astrogths between the Two, and Vistigoth in Spain. The Vandals even got as far as North Africa. In all these states the authority of Roman law naturally grew less and less, and with this decline the Jews lost even the protection of being legally citizens of the Kingdom in which they lived. They lost more than that, they lost that peace and security, with which to carry on their ordinary lives, which come with stable government.

For nearly Five Hundred years the history of Babylonian Jews was almost that of the happy nations who have none. From the time when Jerusalem fell till the beginning of the Sixth Century the troubles of the Jews who were settled on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates had been but slight - occasionally  
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irritating.

But basically Jews were losing all civil rights, and any hostile authority might rob them and even kill or drive them out of its dominion. It is not surprising that those Jews who were able to do so fled from Europe and the dominions of the Eastern Roman Empire

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(41) Ibid, p. 57

and joined their brethren in Mesopotamia and elsewhere in the East. They lived more and more separated from their neighbours.

At the middle of the eleventh century, some people were incited to burn the Jews alive, some contended themselves with burning only the Jewish books and scrolls.

In 1098 Jerusalem, after many a repulse, was in the crusaders' hands, and the conquerors celebrated their success by a complete massacre of the Jews then living in Jerusalem and its suburbs. In 1147 a second crusade was organised to strengthen the Christian hold on the Holy Land. All who joined in this expedition were solemnly released by Pope Eugenius III from all obligations to pay any debts which they might owe to Jews. "And in this second crusade, as in the first, a broad red track of Jewish blood marked the way which the crusaders took the east, and the flames from burning Jewries were beacon-lights on their path. (42)

Spanish Jews, whose misfortunes were of later date, did not neglect their unhappy co-religionists.

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(42). Ibid, p.91

More than once we find the still prosperous Jews of Spain sending sympathetic messages and substantial supplies to the persecuted Jews of France and Germany.<sup>(43)</sup>

In the eleventh and following centuries, the Church greatly extended her control of the spiritual welfare of the peoples of Europe. Unfortunately, the exact opposite is true for the Jews. For the Church believed fanatically that the whole Jewish people were responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth, and that they ought to be continually punished for this monstrous act. In various towns it became the habit for the clergy to spur the populace on to attack the Jews during the week of Easter. In others, Jews were compelled to endure particular humiliations at that period. In Rome itself beastly and humiliating insults were heaped upon the dignified leaders of the Jewish community for the amusement of the mobs.

The increased prosperity of Europe which had made crusading possible and the increased insecurity of the Jews which resulted from the crusades combined to make a considerable change in Jewish economic life - nothing in the economic

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(43). Ibid..

activities of the Jews of the eleventh century could explain the massacres which accompanied the first crusade. All the evidence is that Jews were part of the normal artisanate and business life of the towns where they lived. But now they drew apart from their neighbours and tried to avoid these occupations which took them on to the roads or too much into the Society of Gentiles. Moreover, they sought to turn their wealth into something which could be hidden, or which they could take with them if they had to flee from their homes. Money was obviously more valuable to them than houses, jewels than innyards or bulky commercial stocks. Now at this time the Gentile demand for money was increasing. Not only was it wanted by the land-owner and farmer to keep him going during the months between seed time and harvest, for he had ceased just to live on his crops (subsistence agriculture) and wished to grow enough to sell when harvest came. The Jews had their wealth in money. The natural result was that the former lent, the latter borrowed, to their mutual advantage.<sup>(44)</sup> We have already seen that one Jew

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(44). Ibid, p.92

had become the private property of their rulers; these rulers discovered that profit might be made out of encouraging Jewish settlement and authorising the Jewish settlers to lend money to their subjects.

#### HOPE IN PALESTINE (1492-1700)

The Jews who were expelled from the Peninsula underwent awful experiences. There were so many of them seeking new homes that governments, not merely disposed yet hesitated in their own interests to offer asylum to such crowds. In Italy, to which many turned, scant hospitality was experienced. Geneva definitely closed her gates against the fugitives; Venice received them, but shut them up in ghetto (1516); and in Rome even the Jews were very doubtful as to the expediency of extending a welcome. Naples was more generous, but the result was hardly more fortunate for the Jews.

Some 8,000 travelled no farther than Portugal and there, for three or four years, they seemed tolerably secure. But in 1496 dynastic considerations induced King Manuel of Portugal, contrary to his own convictions, to follow the lead of his parents-in-law, Ferdinand and ten months were granted for preparation, and then the

Jews of Portugal were dispersed, as their Spanish brethren had been, over Italy, Africa, and Turkey. From 1497 till 1808, when Napoleon put an end to the 'Holy Court' of the Inquisition, no declared Jews were to be found in the Spanish Peninsula. Many of secret Jews remained, who under their name of Marranos, or new Christians, continued to fill high offices in Church and State. They preferred, when they could, to marry among themselves, but there were of necessity frequent alliances, promoted by love or by ambition, between highly placed new Christian and the grandest and most orthodox christian families of Spain.

Jewish civilization was not only misunderstood, but even mocked. Rome knew only force and in the case of the Jews force was not enough.

The Jews undertook against the mighty power of Rome, one may well ask how it is possible for so small a people to dare fight the mistress of the world. But the Jews of that day were not fools, they felt that they had forces and expectations which would make the struggle not at all so uneven as it seemed.

Firstly, the Jews depended upon their own fighting ability. The Maccabean spirit was still alive, and the Jews were confident that what they had done to Syria (45) Two Hundred Years before, they could also do to Rome.

Palestine had a large population and from it a substantial army could be raised. But the Jews did not depend upon that alone; the Jews expected to obtain aid from the numerous Jews of the Diaspora.

There was a good deal of inter-marriages between the Jews and Pagans. When a pagan woman married a Jew, she almost always adopted his religion. But even when a Jewish woman married a pagan, the result was of advantage to Judaism, since the wife often brought her children up as Jews.

In this environment the Jews naturally played a role; it affected them and they affected it. And as the general level of civilization rose, their own peculiarly Jewish culture also took an upward turn.

The Muslims and the Christians permitted the Jews to come and go freely in Western Europe. Moreover, the Jews had another advantage: fellow Jews lived in

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(45). Solomon Grayzel, A History of the Jews, (Philadelphia, 1948), p.157.



every land and formed a chain of trading station, a vast mercantile network which enabled trade to continue and develop".

It is very clear during those centuries when the word "Jew" was almost synonymous with "Merchant". The Jews were engaged in the more important and profitable business of export and import. During the Middle Ages the Jews were the most important slave-dealers. The Jews, transported the slaves, to be sold to Christian and Muslim masters. (46)

When the First World War began, the Yishuv, the Jewish settlement in Palestine, was placed in a precarious, even desperate, position. Those Jews who lived in pious mendicancy in Jerusalem and Safad found that even the flow of 'Chalukah' charity from Eastern Europe was cut off. Meanwhile Djemal Pasha, the surly and suspicious Turkish Governor of Palestine, indiscriminately arrested the leaders of both Arab and Jewish nationalist groups. The Zionist activities were faced with the choice either of leaving Palestine or of languishing in verminous Turkish prisons. Most of them - Ben Gurion, Ben-Zvi, Shertok, preferred

flight so that they could patiently go on planning from other vantage point. At the same time, the World Zionist Organisation itself, was faced with the problem of conflicting loyalties. Eventually the Zionist leadership attempted to resolve the dilemma by opening up "Neutral" offices in Copenhagen. (47)

It happened, however, that a member of the Zionist Executive, the eloquent tribunes, Shmaryah Levin, was en-route from America to Europe when the war began. His ship turned back immediately and Levin remained in New York to establish a Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs. It was this vigilant liaison which ultimately saved the Zionist movement - and the Jewish community in Palestine. In 1914 there were about Two and Half million Jews in the United States, most of them of Eastern European origin, and eager to lend their support to the Zionist cause. Moreover, the president of the Provisional Executive Committee, Louis Brandies, was a man of national prominence in American life. He had acquired a warm appreciation for the aspiration

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(47). Sagar (fn.34), p.369

of East European Jews during his experience as an attorney for the Jewish labour unions in the needle trades. Ambassador Morgenthau made representations on behalf of the Jews of Palestine, the Turkish Government was constrained to listen. Djemal Pasha still continued to arrest or exile Zionist leaders.

Even before 1789 little islands of hospitality open to the Jews on a collective basis. "England, for example, had locked its doors to Jews since the 13th century - although a few families continued to live on clandestinely in London".

In the middle of 17th century a group of Saphardic refugees, living in temporary asylum in Holland, were emboldened to petition the authorities of England for admission. It happened that English Government in the 1650's was largely concentrated in the hands of the austere and iron-willed Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector. Cromwell considered the Jewish Petition carefully. He was inclined to grant entry to the Jews; it was probably a combination

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(48) Henry Morgenthau, was the American Ambassador to Constantinople.

(49) Sachar, (fn.34) p.44.

of hard headed mercantilist reasoning and the typically Puritan brand of Old Testament sentimentality that made up Cromwell's mind. Over the opposition of his council and without bothering to pass a law on the matter, he let it be known that Jewish immigration would not be blocked.

By 1660 there were thirty-five Sephardic families in London. Their numbers slowly increased. They were treated tolerantly, and managed to work themselves fully into England's economic life. In 18th Century their right of domicile was recognized officially when they were permitted to use the courts for the debts. The Jews began to prosper. The most prominent among them, the financiers and merchants, were "accepted" into upper echelons of English society. Several Jews were directors of the East India Company and of Lloyd's of London. The Jews were active, as well in medical and cultural life.

In 17th century the Netherlands, too, debated the question of extending asylum and protection to the Jews who petitioned for entrance. The Dutch Government

the country's most respect jurist, Hugo Grotius, to preside over commission to study the Jewish petition. The Jews fulfilled the fondest expectations of their hosts, for their economic activity in the Netherland was extensive and productive. The role played by Jews on the Amsterdam stock exchange, that when committee was appointed to draw up new rules of stock trading, Thirty-seven of the committee's Forty-one members were Jews". A quarter of the Dutch East India Company's stock-holders were Jews, and about the same proportion of Jews owned the stock in the Dutch West India Company.<sup>(50)</sup> The Jews found ample opportunity to demonstrate their talents and business acumen in the Netherlands.

By 1874, full rights had been granted to Jews in England, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Austria and Switzerland. The Jews of Western Europe had the right to profess their religion and to be otherwise considered fully privileged nations<sup>is</sup> of the countries in which they resided.

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(50) Ibid., p.44

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Zionism began to play a role to transform religious hopes and a yearning for individual freedom into a political programme for national self-determination.

The first presentation of Zionism was given by Moses Hess in his book Rom und Jerusalem (1832). The next philosopher of Zionism was Leo Pinsker who, twenty years later wrote in his Auto-Emancipation that the Jews formed, in the midst of the nations among whom they live, a distinct element which cannot be readily digested by any country. Pinsker's goal was a "Land of Our Own", though not necessarily the Holy Land. Under his leadership, a first Jewish National Conference met in 1884 at Katowice in Silesia - thirteen years before Theodor Herzl invoked the first Zionist Congress at Basle in Switzerland.

#### SEGREGATION OF THE JEWS AND THE GHETTOS

The term "ghetto" came to represent a mental attitude. This attitude spread to the Jews of other lands as ghetto conditions, though no actual ghettos, spread beyond Italy and Germany into other parts of Europe. "The Jews of former days explained the meaning of the word 'ghetto' with bitter humor<sup>u</sup> by tracing

its origin to the Hebrew word for divorce, 'get'. It looked as though the people with whom the Jews had cooperated in the building of the world they lived in had decided to divorce them and send them forth from their common household. Actually, the most likely explanation for the word 'ghetto', as applied to a special place assigned to the Jews, is that the one such district, set up in the city of Venice around 1516, was located near an iron-foundary which was called 'geto' in the Veneta in dialect."<sup>(51)</sup>

We notice, that, the Jews preferred always to live side by side, as do all people who have something important in common. The ghetto was fixed by law as the exclusively legal district for Jewish residence.

There were many reasons why the ghetto came into being just at that time:

Firstly, the expulsion from Spain and Portugal, considered the most advanced European States of that day, spread the idea that Jews ought not to be permitted to live in Christian society. Spain's example bore print in a law as distant

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(51). Grayzel (fn.45), p.414.

as Lithuania.

Secondly: the middle of 16th century witnessed a revival of bigotry. Protestantism came into existence, and Luther, in his later years, went to extremes in advising the extermination of the Jews. At the same time, Catholicism was fighting the new Protestant heresies with might and main. Both sects of Christianity made the treatment of the Jews as social undesirable a test of religious zeal.

Thirdly: the old economic source of trouble  
(52)  
for the Jews gained in intensity.

Since in Germany and Italy, some of their rulers yielded to the popular and ecclesiastical pressure to expel the Jews, while others compromised by putting their Jewish subjects into a ghetto. The Jews were, permitted to stay under fewer restrictions, than anywhere else. Frankfurt's Jews were under the protection of the German Emperor; consequently they were not expelled, but placed within the walls of a ghetto.

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(52).. Ibid., p.474



The rule of Ghetto were walled up to prevent free entry or exit, the window's of Jewish homes which looked out to a street outside the ghetto were boarded up. One or more gates at the ends of the Jewish streets permitted the inmates to leave their district. The gates and guards protected the ghetto against attack. The ghetto regulations about exits and entrance were not always strictly enforced. Italian Jews, especially, enjoyed some freedom; and on Saturday afternoon they might be seen taking a walk along the river bank or the less crowded avenues of the city."(53).

#### LIFE IN THE GHETTO

The ghetto walls in Frankfurt, and in hundreds of other cities and towns in Germany and elsewhere, provided telling physical evidence of a basic fact of Jewish life in the era before the French Revolution. That fact was the isolation of the Jews from their European neighbours, their indeterminate status as non-Europeans.

The Jedengasse signified more than Jewish isolation, however, it also signified Jewish autonomy.

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(53). Ibid., p. 470

The four hundred thousand Jews of Western Europe in the 18th Century had organized themselves on the basis of corporate autonomy. They could hardly be permitted entrance into feudal society, or even into the guilds of municipal corporations. Christian rulers permitted the Jews to enroll in their own autonomous corporations. In a decentralized society they had the rights - indeed, the responsibilities - of governing themselves, of caring for social services that Duke or Baron declined to perform. The Jews, therefore, were obliged to provide their own educational, religious, administrative, social, medical and penal services. (54)

The Jews did not resent their autonomous status. It provided the leaders of the Jewish community with the opportunity of maintaining the Jewish religion and all that this religion embraced in the way of educational processes, judicial action, and social welfare. The Jews administered their own laws, based on their own Talmudical precepts. They were, however, obliged to pay heavy taxes.

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(54) Sachar (fn. 34), p. 26.

THE JEWS IN MODERN TIMES:

Before World War 11, the Jews throughout the world numbered about 16 million. They were less than one percent of the world's population and only about one and a half per cent of the combined population of Europe and America. They were scattered all over the world.

The first part of Jewish history, usually known as the history of the Hebrews, is fairly familiar. Most people have a general idea how the Hebrews originated, how they won their land and established their kingdoms. The ancient heroes of the people, the patriarchs, Joshua the Conqueror, David the nation-builder, and a host of others, are well known from popular story and legend. These men influenced the world; but their influence was an indirect one. More important was the influence of the Law giver, the poets, writers and religious teachers of the Hebrews - the men known as the prophets. Why were the two little kingdoms, Israel and Judah, able to develop such men and such thoughts? It was tiny Judah and Israel, not Babylonia or Assyria or Egypt

or Philistia, that did most to enrich the spirit of mankind. (55)

The Hebrews were the descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; the last was also called Israel. The name of Jacob was applied to the tribes who settled in Canaan and some lands nearby. Later on, some of the tribes became two kingdoms. Israel was kingdom or northern Palestine; while Judah was the southern kingdom (named later after one of the sons of Jacob) over which the family of David ruled. Both populations could rightly be called Hebrews, and both could be referred to as the children of Israel. The northerners called themselves Israelites, and the southerners Judeans. Both kingdoms were destroyed, but only the Judeans succeeded in re-establishing themselves in their old land, whereas the Israelites never restored their kingdom. "Only the Judeans, therefore, played a part in later history. The word "Jew" is a modification of the word "Judean". The Jews are the last remnants of the Hebrews and the Israelites, and rightfully took over whatever hopes, tasks and glories the longer group had developed." (56)

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(55). Grayzel, (fn.45), p.3

(56). Ibid., p.6

There are seven periods in the Jewish history:

(1) The Patriarchal Age:

From Abraham to the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites.

(2) The First Commonwealth:

From about 1200 to 586 before the common Era. This is the age of Judges, Kings and prophets and also the birth of great spiritual truths.

(3) The Second Commonwealth:

From 586 before the Common Era, this includes the story of Babylonian Captivity, the return and the rebuilding of the Temple.

(4) The Jews of the East:

Rise and decline of the Jews in Babylonia and Palestine during the first thousand years of the Common Era, the period which saw the development of the Talmud among the Jews, and of Christianity and Mohammedanism among the Gentiles.

(5) The Middle Ages in Europe:

It is the age of Jewish settlement in various parts of Europe, Jewish participation in the slow rise of European culture, the Crusades and all the evils which followed them.

(6) The Ghetto Age:

End of the Renaissance about (1520), if not the expulsion from Spain (1492), this period is better named after the Jews of Eastern Europe, who, in their days, developed the highest cultural activity.

(7) The Modern Age:

From the end of the 18th Century, the world underwent radical transformation after the revolutions in America and in France.(57)

This period may be divided into four stages:

- (a) From the creation of the Zionist movement until the establishment of Israel.
- (b) From the establishment of Israel until 5 June 1967.
- (c) After 5 June 1967 until October 1973
- (d) October 6, 1973. The peace of Israel and the future.

THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY OF THE JEWS:

The Jews, themselves, developed their religion in such a way as to make their future more secure. They had become accustomed to rest from work on the Sabbath

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(57). Ibid., pp.9,10

and on such holiday as Passover, Sukkot, and Shabuot. In Judea they had refrained from working on these days because their religion forbade them. They probably argued that they were doing this in memory of the old days when their nation was established. Besides, the feasts and the days of the rest, they also began to observe days of fasting. All of them mourned on the anniversary of the day when the wall of Jerusalem began to crumble under the attacks of the Babylonians, and on the day when the city fell. For these reasons the 10th of Tebet the 17th of Tammuz and the 9th of Ab were observed as fast days.

In the year 516 the modest Temple was completed. Exactly seventy years had passed since the First Temple had been destroyed, and about twenty one years since the first group of exiles returned from Babylonia. The Jews, it should be noted, have continued to think of Babylonian Exile as having lasted seventy years; for they considered the rebuilding of the destroyed Temple, not the Cyrus Declaration, as the end of the Exile. (58)

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(58). Ibid., p. 25

From the beginning of the Second Commonwealth the Jews had found it necessary to establish local gathering places where public meetings were held and lawsuits pleaded before the local judges. On Sabbaths and holidays, the people of neighbourhood gathered to hear the Rotah and the Prophets read. From the varied activities conducted in these hours came their name "people's houses", or "the people's gathering places". These names were translated into Greek by the word "Synagogue". Certain influence were already at work which eventually made the Synagogue even more important than the temple itself.



## CHAPTER 11

### ZIONISM AND BRITISH IMPERIALISM: THE BALFOUR DECLARATION.

#### JEWISH AWAKENING

The Jewish community in Medieval England was the most short-lived of all medieval Jewries. For Jews came as settlers only with William the Conqueror after 1066, and were all expelled by Edward 1 in 1290. They were probably accepted by William's new invasion, and Jews gradually gained a tolerably comfortable and secure position in the towns in which they settled. London and Oxford became their headquarters. Little colonies of Jews came up also in New York, in Lincoln, and in Norwich, and in various other towns where they set up small business, and always managed, however poor they might be at first, to find some small room which would serve as a meeting place for prayer and for study. In London they were soon numerous enough and prosperous enough to gain the great privilege of being allotted a 'burying place for their dead'. This first Beth Haim of the Jews in England was situated in St. Giles, Cripplegate. Thus things went well for a time, it was in the reign of Stephen (1135-54) that the troubles of the Jews in England began.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Magnus, Outlines of Jewish History (London, 1958), p.97.

The thirteenth century witnessed the decline of the Jews in Western Europe and England was no exception. The main asset of that community was that it possessed more complete records of their economic activities than of any other. For the King was the owner of all Jews of England. No baron or bishop had the right (as on the continent) to possess them. And the King registered them most carefully, and insisted on receiving a copy of every loan they made. Special locker chests were set up in the particular cities where Jews were allowed to live, to store the copies. Much of these archives have survived. The Jews formed so important a part of their finances that the Kings, from Richard onward, had a special department of the exchequer to deal with them. But so incompetent a method of raising revenue as the violent exploitation of the people through Jewish money-lenders, and then their constant robbing of the money-lenders of their profits, could not last for ever. Jews grew more and more incapable of fulfilling the royal demands for money, and so became less and less useful to the Crown.

In 1290, when they had been bled white of all their property, Edward I expelled them from the Kingdom with

considerable, if unofficial, brutality, and there was no official Jewish community in England from that date to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Then the English exiles had little choice of asylum. After their expulsion they disembarked at any and all of the French ports which would take them in, and journeyed hither and thither inland, eager and grateful to share the comparative security of their French brethren. They did not stay to think how unsafe it all was; they did not look back to see how, but sixteen years been in like evil case with themselves, nor did they look forward through a gloomy hundred years to see how, but sixteen years before, under a decree of Philip the Fair, the Jews of France had been in like evil case with themselves, nor did they look forward through a gloomy hundred years to see all this dreary drama of exiles acted over again, with added details of hardships. They were soon to look to Germany for shelter, and French Jews with them. (2)

As early as 1838, when Britain had been at logger-heads with Muhammed Ali Pasha, the ruler of Egypt, Lord Palmerston had appointed the first British

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(2). Ibid., p.100.

Vice-Consul in Jerusalem with a watching brief over the ten thousand or so Jews then inhabiting Palestine.

It was years later that Palmerston wrote to the British ambassador in Constantinople: "It would be of manifest importance for the Sultan to encourage the Jews to return to, and settle in Palestine; because the wealth which they would bring with them would increase the resources of the Sultan's and protection and at the invitation of the Sultan, would be a check upon any future evil designs of Muhammed Ali or his successor...."<sup>(3)</sup>

Among British Jews support for a connection with Palestine was varied and diffused, ranging from a paternalistic support for the Jewish Colonization shown by Sir Moses Montefiore to the fervour of the Maccabean Club. One of its members was a thirty-one-year-old author, Israel Zange Will, famous for a recently published

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(3). George Kirk, A Short History of the Middle East, London, 1945), p.147. See also Adel Ismail, Histoire du Liban, (Paris, 1955). See also Desmond Stewart, Theodor Herzl, Artist and Politician (London, 1974), p.309.

(4)  
novel, Children of the Ghetto.

The fact that both Herzl and his predecessor Leon Pinsker were not ideologically wedded exclusively to the idea of securing Palestine as the only place toward which large scale Jewish immigration could be directed with consequent colonization is evident from the readiness to consider other alternatives like, Argentina or even Uganda. Herzl was, however, prevailed upon by those of his followers who were irrationally attached to the idea of Zion, and looked upon it as the only place which provided a solution, despite his views to the contrary.<sup>(5)</sup>

Yielding to the pressures that were brought to bear upon him by his followers he had to plead the case for Palestine in the hope of striking a deal with the Sultan of Turkey. He said, "The society will take whatever it is given and whatever Jewish public opinion favours. Argentina is one of the most fertile countries in the World, extends over a vast area, is sparsely populated, and has a temperate climate".<sup>(6)</sup>

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(5). Theodor Herzl, Tagebucher (1934), p.254; Ben Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State (Cambridge, 1961), pp.101, 128, 159.

(6). Stewart (fn.3), p.210

"Palestine", on the other hand, "is our unforgettable historic home-land. The very name would be marvellously effective rallying cry. If His Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine, we could in return undertake under the complete management of the finances of Turkey. We should also form part of a wall of defence for Europe in Asia, an outpost of civilization against barbarism. The holy places of Christendom could be placed under some form of international extra-territoriality".<sup>(7)</sup>

#### THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT AND PROGRAMME

The aim of Zionism was to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:

1. The promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.
2. The organisation and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate

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(7). Ibid., p.220

institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.

3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps towards obtaining government consent, where necessary, to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.<sup>(8)</sup>

In one important detail the Basle Programme (August, 1897) was less candid than Herzl's Judenstaat; in another it was firmer. The mention of a home not a State, was a technical manoeuvre by Max Nordau, "I did my best", he wrote much later, "to persuade the claimants of the Jewish State in Palestine that we might find a circumlocution that would express all we meant, but would say it in a way so as to avoid provoking the Turkish rulers of the coveted land."<sup>(9)</sup>

#### THE JEWS IN FRANCE

From the ninth to twelfth century Jewish colleges and synagogues continued to exist in peace, and they were

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(8). Walter Laqueur ed., The Israel/Arab Reader (London, 1969), pp. 28-29.

(9) Christopher Sykes, Cross Roads to Israel, (London, 1965), pp. 23-24.

tolerably protected from violence. As late as 1165, when a famous Jewish traveller from Spain named Benjamin of Tudela was visiting France he found such institutions flourishing in most of the towns which he included in his travels, and he appears to have made a very comprehensive tour both North and South. (10)

During this period the present South of France was not part of the Kingdom ruled over by the Kings of France. Jewish communities in Marseilles, Avignon, Lunel, and other towns of the South enjoyed conditions more like those of Spanish Jews, and had many centres of culture and many distinguished scholars among their members. These latter were especially famous as Hebrew Grammarians, and wrote some of the earliest books of grammar of their own language. In the North, scholars were rarer, but the Jewish communities of Champagne produced one notable academy with famous leaders. Champagne fairs held annually, were a meeting-place for all the big business-men. Many knotty problems of religion and of Jewish life and society were discussed after the commercial activities of the days were over by Jewish leaders from England, France and Germany.

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(10). Magnus, (fn.1), p.94.



The crusades and the general need of money were the chief causes for the persecutions which were so soon to follow. Towards the end of the twelfth century Philip Augustus ordered them, in a body, out of his dominions (1180), and the purchase money that the Jews gave for the right to return brought them a short interval of "protection"! Expelling the Jews and selling permission to them to come back was found an excellent means of raising money, and the process was repeated in 1306, when Philip IV one of the most cruel sovereigns who ever sat on any throne, was King. Before they were expelled their goods were pillaged and confiscated, and it must have been difficult for the poor exiles to raise the enormous sum which was demanded a few years later, for the right to return. The Jews of that time had small choice or change of safe asylum in any country, or we might wonder at their paying for permission to go back to such inhospitable shores.

Under 'Saint' Louis (Louis IX, 1226-70), a new form of persecution was devised. Killing Jews and plundering their property was commonplace; it was decided to destroy their literature. So a raid was made on Jewish

libraries, and, as a beginning 24 cart-loads of Jewish religious books were burnt in Paris. It was under this King, too, that the Jews were prohibited from practising as physicians and were all compelled to wear a conspicuous garment, the distinctive coloured cloth (called the rouelle) sewn in front of and behind the outer dress of both men and women.

In 1320 there was another crusade, another accusation against the Jews, and another large sum of Jewish money paid into the royal treasury. This crusade was called the crusade of the shepherds, was set on foot by peasants, who were presumably too poor to pay its expenses, and a preliminary crusade against the Jews was a very convenient way of raising the necessary money for the holy expedition. So a cry was raised accusing the Jews of poisoning the public wells.

On September 17, 1394, on Yom Kippur when Charles VI was King, with a six week's notice, the Jews were commanded to leave France altogether, and this third expulsion was final and general and included all the Jews in all parts of the country.<sup>(11)</sup>

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(11) Ibid., p.97

THE JEWS IN SPAIN

It is clear that, most of the Jews who were driven into exile by the Al-Muwahhid persecutions travelled no farther than to those provinces of Spain which had been reconquered by the Christians, who kings were ready, for their own sakes, to give a welcome to the learned, useful Jews. Alfonso VIII, who reigned in Castile from 1166 till 1214, was particularly well affected towards them. It was said that he loved a beautiful Jewess of Toledo, named Rachel, who was murdered by Christian fanatics on the suspicion of her being a Jewess. <sup>(12)</sup> Spain needed the Jews, it depended on the Jewish loyalty in their armies, and on Jewish brains in their offices.

The Spanish Jews had been more closely connected with Spanish culture. The expulsion from Spain did not affect a comparatively small group; it did not happen piecemeal, city by city, as was the case in Germany. The Spanish expulsion struck an entire population of hundreds of thousands, all at the same time, in the

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(12). Ibid., p.107.

entire country. It is necessary to describe the great tragedy which overwhelmed the Jews of the Iberian Peninsula. At that day there were more weaklings and renegades among the Spanish Jews than among the German Jews.

"This part of the Jewish story most closely resembles a drama, with the Iberian Peninsula as a vast stage. The first act during the first part of the fourteenth century, shows the Jews living in comparative peace. Like the rumbling of distant thunder while the sky is clear overhead, there are increasing signs of approaching danger. The second act opens with the year 1391, beginning a century of rapid descent into the abyss of disaster. The actual expulsion of 1492 is the climax of the drama, but it is not the end. The final act is the struggle of Judaism, stretching over centuries, against the Inquisition - the Human Spirit against Brute Force. Comparatively few of the secret Jews survived this struggle, but the Inquisition, too, was destroyed, and wherever men have valued freedom they have been ashamed of the Inquisition and its works."<sup>(13)</sup>

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(13). Grayzel, A History of the Jews (Philadelphia, 1948), p.401.

In Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, although the Jewish population had inhabited the land at least as early as the Christians, the latter, because they were in the majority, assumed that the Jews were in the majority, assumed that the Jews were outsiders. The merchants and artisans looked upon the Jews as competitors, the nobles envied the wealth which some of the Jews had acquired. The Jews, therefore, could look only to the Spanish Kings for protection. The Spanish Kings, on the other hand, found their position strengthened by the taxes which the Jews paid directly into the royal treasuries.

The year 1391 marked the beginning of a series of events which destroyed Jewish life in the entire Iberian Peninsula. Spain had been for centuries home to the Jews, but in all Europe at that date there seemed no chance of finding another. It was exile without hope."<sup>(14)</sup>

#### THE JEWS OF POLAND

Refugees had found their way to Poland from the

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(14). Magnus, (fn.1), p.115.

eleventh century onwards, and had met and mingled there, perhaps, with some remnants of that once powerful, converted nation of the Khazars, who flourished in Southern Russia in the eighth and ninth centuries. One hears little concerning the Jews in Poland, till the fourteenth century, when under Casimir the Great, ~~the~~ possibly owing to the influence of a Jewess of whom the King was very fond, their legal status <sup>(15)</sup> was confirmed. Their rights of trading were guaranteed but public or State employment was withheld. Poland was able to offer a refuge to Jews flying successively from the soil of England, France and many cities and states of Germany. Poland made possible for the Jews to continue their traditional religious activity with little or no interference.

The paralysis of the Polish Government destroyed Jewish security; the Jews were driven out of the countryside, out of the mercantile guilds, and into a life of peddling and banking. It was a matter of some urgency to Polish Jewry that the constitutional

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(15). Ibid., p.103

reforms of 1791 be extended to them. The May constitution, with all the important changes it effected in Poland's life, did not touch on matters of minority status. The Jews were completely cut off in this last will of dying  
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Poland.

The Jews understood that their security in Europe was linked to the success of liberalism with the certainty of mathematical law. In the Italian peninsula, for example, the Jews took a particularly active part in the nationalist movement. Thousands of young Jews joined Mazzini's "Young Italy", and bore arms in the abortive uprising of the early 1830's.

In Germany too, the Jews were among the most active participants in the constitutional movement. Ricsser, a Prussian Jew, was one of the representatives of German Jewish Liberalism. He was in the forefront of Liberal cause of nearly twenty years. In 1848, Gabriel Riesser, was destined to play an important role in the Frankfurt Parliament. He was perhaps the classic example of the

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(16). Howard M. Sachar, The Course of Modern Jewish History (New York, 1958), p.73.

modern enlightened Jew, a Heidelberg graduate, a Doctor of Laws, a reformer Jew, he devoted his life time to the vindication of the thesis that the Jews were entirely capable of full-hearted German citizenship.<sup>(17.)</sup>

In Hungary, nearly one hundred thousand Jews had suffered for years under a bitterly reactionary Landtag and an even more reactionary Catholic Church.

In Bohemia and Slovakia contact between the Jews and the nationalist movements was made even more difficult than in Hungary.

"The year 1848 was the great testing ground for the Jewish political activity. "Between 1789 and 1915 the Jews had secured their emancipation primarily as passive beneficiaries of the Revolution and of Napoleon, its heir. This time, in the second phase of Jewish emancipation, the Jews themselves laboured for their freedom, and did so by battling for constitutionalism in its largest framework."<sup>(18)</sup>

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(17). Ibid., p.10

(18). Ibid., p.112.



THE JEWS IN RUSSIA

The first Jews appeared in Russia came north from the Black Sea and the Crimea as merchants from Byzantium, seeking perhaps furs and slaves. In the sixteenth century other Jewish merchants came into Russia from the side of Poland and Lithuania. "In 1545 and 1550 Ivan the Terrible refused to allow Jewish merchandise into Russia and ordered the burning of that which had already entered. And it regarded Jews as dangerous enemies of the Christian faith and therefore to be kept at a distance or converted. The same Ivan, on taking the city of Polotgk from the Poles, ordered that all Jews who refused baptism should be drowned (19) in the river flowing past the city."

The Jews had entered every country, either very gradually or else by the express invitation of the ruler, who saw some personal - usually financial - benefit to himself in their settlement. But Russia suddenly and involuntarily acquired a Jewish population running into millions as a result of her imperialistic desire for

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(19). Magnus (fn.1), p.139.



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expansion and her consequent acquisition of Polish territory. She did not want the Jews whom she acquired thereby. She was not interested in their economic role, for her native society consisted of landowners and illiterate peasants who were tied to the soil, and she desired no change.<sup>(20)</sup>

The reign of Alexander II had been a false dawn. For a generation the ancient Russian policy of repression of the Jews had been mitigated by the liberalism of the monarch who had set the serfs free; and therefore many Jews believed that the walls of the ghetto were about to fall. The Jews were beginning to attend Russian schools and universities, and to enter into the life of the country.

In 1881 Alexander II was assassinated, and, though Jews took no part in the act, it suited the Russian bureaucracy to turn the popular anger against the Jews. Violence followed, and the mass flight of Jews from Russia began, which was to transform the whole Jewish

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(20). Ibid., pp.139-140

world in the decades which preceded the First World War. (21)

The Jews, under the Tzars, were a multitudinous, distinctive, and persecuted minority, largely concentrated in the Western region of the Russian Empire. Communism championed the cause of all the oppressed and persecuted. It claimed to be the panacea for all social ills. It sought to enlist the Jews in the camp of revolution. Consequently, the communists could not disregard the Jewish question. It was there, and they had to deal with it. They had to provide for the Jews in the Communist hereafter on earth. Soviet policy towards the Jews is partly a result of that long and laborious preoccupation. But its roots go beyond Communism. The Kremlin's long persecution of Hebrew, its doctor's plot in the final days of Stalin's rule, and its euphemistic references to "Zionists" both under Stalin and under his successors, have roots in Tzarist Russian history and in European events set off by the French Revolution. (22)

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(21). Ibid., p.145

(22). Judd L. Teller, The Kremlin, the Jews and the Middle East, (London, 19 ), p.13.

Marx was of Jewish ancestry; in fact, both his father and his mother were descended from a long line of rabbis; but he was brought up as a Christian. He knew about Jews and Judaism only the little he might have picked up at home during self-justifying and therefore unfavourable discussions by his converted parents. (23) Karl Marx inquired the problems confronting the Jews as mainly problems. He saw no reason why Judaism should survive and he knew nothing of Jewish cultural values. Indeed, he was severer towards Judaism than towards Christianity.

Intellectually, socially, religiously and politically, the Jews failed to find a successful response to the attacks of the anti-semites.

#### THE SECRET PACTS

As soon as the World War 1 broke out in 1914, Russia pressed England and France for the Straits and Istanbul and considerable hinterland on each side. After

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(23). Grayzel (fn.13), p.660.

many diplomatic exchanges Russia was unwillingly promised in March, 1915 the fulfilment of her age-old demand. In exchange British and French rights in Asiatic Turkey were to be defined by a special agreement and a neutral zone in Iran was included in the British sphere of influence.<sup>(24)</sup>

A month later the Pact of London was signed to bring Italy into the War. This pact promised Italy sovereignty over the Dedecanese Islands and elimination of all rights of the Ottoman Caliph yet remaining in Libya. Italian interests in Antalya were conceded and that area promised to her; in case Turkey was not dismembered, Italy would be given recompense elsewhere.<sup>(25)</sup>

During 1914, the Zionist activities were centred in Germany and Dr. Weizmann became the leader of the movement.

In both the United States and Britain the Jewish leaders bent their efforts toward obtaining a guarantee from the Allies that, in the event of Ottoman defeat, Palestine would be recognised as a Jewish Commonwealth open

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(24). Sydney Nettleton Fisher, The Middle East: A History, second edition, (London, 1971), p.369.

(25). Ibid., pp.369-370

open to unrestricted immigration.

By 1914 the Arabs had begun to be more sensitive to the impact of Jewish immigration. There was still an Arab majority of about six to one, but the Jewish population had grown up and was slowly but steadily increasing. (26)

During the First World War, the British Government gave contradictory pledges to the Arabs for independence in their lands and also promised the Jewish leader the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. The British Government held out promise of creating a French sphere of influence in the region involved.

HUSSEIN-McMAHON CORRESPONDENCE (1915-1916)

McMahon's letter of October 24, 1913, stated in unambiguous terms that Britain was prepared to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs in all the regions within the limits demanded by the Sherif of Mecca "where Great Britain is free to act without detriment

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(26). Leonard Stein, The Balfour Declaration, (London, 1961), pp. 84-85.

to interests of her ally, France" <sup>(27)</sup> except for two districts of Mercina and Alexandretta (Cilicia) and portions of Syria lying to the west of the Districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Alepps which cannot be said to be purely Arab and should be excluded from the limits demanded. <sup>(28)</sup>

Later, the British Government tried to wriggle out of this commitment stating that it did not cover Palestine. But an impartial reading the letters and a look at the map of region, clearly show that Palestine was definitely included in the pledge. This view is further strengthened if one glances through Hoyerth's message of January 1918, made two months after the Balfour declaration, which said that the "Jewish settlement in Palestine would only be allowed in-so-far-as would be consistent with the political and economic freedom of <sup>(29)</sup> the Arab population. Surely political freedom cannot but

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(27). Ibid., p.53.

(28). P.L. Lakhanpal, Documents and Notes on the Arabs-Israeli Question, (Delhi, 1968), p.41.

(29). Ibid.,

be regarded as synonymous with independence.

The Committee, also, came to the conclusion that the correspondence made it "clear that His Majesty's Government were not free to dispose of Palestine without regard for the wishes and interests of the inhabitants of Palestine". It was certain, Lord Maugham declared, "that Britain was not free, in October 1915, to act (30) in Palestine without detriment to French interests.

"It may be perfectly true, he went on, 'that under the influence of Lord Kitchener and others His Majesty's Government before and after the outbreak of War were anxious to restrict the French claims of the Levant Coast if they could find a legitimate means of doing so. But there is a great difference between desiring an object and attaining it... (31).

#### THE SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT

During the first two years of the War, Zionist

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(30). Stein (fn.26), p.55.

(31). Cmd. 5974, (1939), p.27. Then follows the passage already quoted concerning French. Claims to the Mediterranean littoral down to the Egyptian frontier. See Stein (fn.27), p.53



efforts to influence the British Government bore no visible fruit. In April 1916, "The Allies negotiated a secret pact, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, dividing the area among themselves.<sup>(32)</sup> The negotiations "reached a point at which it became necessary for the British Government to give serious thought to the future of Palestine."<sup>(33)</sup> No direct reference was made to the Zionist aspirations.

In the Sykes-Picot Agreement "an Arab Confederation under the joint protection of France and Britain was delimited. The region of Palestine was to be under equality",<sup>(34)</sup> but no more.

At the February 7, 1917 meeting, neither Sykes nor Herbert Samuel would say anything specific about the already concluded Sykes-Picot agreement, but the geographical boundaries which Sykes proposed for the Jewish National Home reflected its provisions. The Jewish representative at once reacted strongly against Northern

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(Ed.),  
(32). Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, The Transformation of Palestine. Essays on the origin and Developments of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Evanston, 1971), p.42.

(33). Stein (fn.26), p.115.

(34). Abu-Lughod (fn.32), p.42.

boundaries, adopted from the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which would have cut Jewish settlements in the Galilee out of the territory of Palestine. They also objected to Sykes' proposal to salvage for international administration not only the Holy Places but the city of Jerusalem together with a corridor from Jaffa to Jerusalem containing even older Jewish agricultural settlements. (33)

Two months later the Zionists obtained specific information on the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Dr. Weizmann met Lord Robert Cecil, the Assistant Secretary for Foreign Affairs and explained in emphatic terms the Zionist objections to the territorial boundaries laid down in the Sykes-Picot Agreement and to the internationalization of Palestine, which in effect meant establishing an Anglo-French Condominium. In reply to Cecil's leading question, he went into detail about the reasons which caused the Zionists to reject France and prefer Britain as the protecting power. The upshot of the interview was a suggestion by Cecil that Weizmann go to Palestine and Syria. Weizmann reports:

"I answered that I was prepared to make the

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(33). Ben Halpern, (fn.5), p.278.

trips - if my work at the Admiralty would permit it but only with the understanding that I was to work for a Jewish Palestine under a British Protectorate. Lord Robert Cecil agreed to this view. He saw the difficulties of the situation, but suggested that it would help a great deal if the Jews of the world would be in pursuance of such a task that I would go to Palestine".<sup>(34)</sup>

In April-May 1917 - Sykes and Picot visited Cairo and Jeddah, in order to acquaint Syrian and Sherifian Arab leaders more specifically with their agreement. The Arabs made no move at that time to contest the proposed division of the Ottoman realm, but rather came to an understanding with the French about the method of its application. This did not mean, however, that they were ready to accept it as anything more than a <sup>(35)</sup>provisional agreement.

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(34). Chaim Weizmann, Trial and Error (London, 1949), p. 242.

(35). Halpern (fn. 5), p. 280.

The Sykes-Picot Agreement, the Balfour Declaration and the Hussein-McMahon correspondence, show us the three faces of British diplomacy in the Middle East. These pacts were kept secret from the Arabs by Britain. Their terms were revealed by the Soviet Government at the end of 1917.

The British, as usual, were playing a double game. In 1916 the German were winning and the British desperately needed the United States help which would come forth only if the Jewish leaders were won over. The British therefore, promised influential American Jews to secure Palestine for their oppressed brethren in Europe. At the beginning of 1917, while preparing for the seizure of Palestine, the British Government recalled their promise to the Zionists and decided to enlist their services by accepting the separation of Palestine from the Arab States. On the British Government's instructions, Sir Mark Sykes<sup>(36)</sup> established contacts with the Zionist leaders in February 1917. In the summer of the same year, negotiations were resumed. The talks revealed that both sides held identical views and on 2 November 1917, the

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(36). A distinguished British orientalist

British Government issued a declaration in the form of a letter written by the British Secretary to the Anglo-Jewish bank, Rothschild, leader of the Zionist movement.<sup>(37)</sup>

Balfour Declaration letter ran as follows:<sup>(38)</sup>

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish Communities in Palestine, or the

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(37). V. Lutsky, Modern History of the Arab Countries, (London, p.397.

(38). Sykes, (fn.9), pp.15-16.

rights and political status enjoyed by Jews  
in any other country!

I should be grateful if you would bring  
this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist  
Federation.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR BALFOUR

The brief and famous letter, only a hundred and  
seventeen words, was to complicate British policy in the  
East from that time to our own, and perhaps for many  
years to come.

The Balfour Declaration received the immediate  
support of the United States Government, which in many  
ways contributed to the success of the Anglo-Zionist  
negotiations. In 1918 the French and Italian Governments  
also declared their support to the Balfour Declaration.<sup>(39)</sup>  
All these developments strengthened the Zionists. The  
causes behind the Balfour Declaration and a subject of  
speculation to this day.

On the other hand, this declaration evoked

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(39). Lutsky, (fn. 37), pp. 397, 398.

tremendous indignation among the Arabs who were staggered by Britain's treachery. So they called it a betrayal.<sup>(40)</sup> But the Balfour Declaration set the stage for a new period in Jewish history - the building of a national home in Palestine. In this new period the Zionists were to transform themselves from mere missionaries into state builders.

Lord Balfour in his own diary, the extract of which could be found in volume 11 of documents of British policy had written:

"In Palestine we do not propose even to go through the forms of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants. Zionism is of far greater importance to us than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land. I do not think Zionism will hurt the Arabs." "In fact, so far as Palestine is concerned, the powers, have made no statement of fact that is not admittedly wrong, and no declaration of policy which, at least

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(40). Ibid., p. 398

in the letter, they have not always intended to  
(41) the  
violate." Alongwith/Balfour Declaration, other  
secret agreements had been concluded among the Allies  
to partition Arab territories among themselves, such  
as the Sykes-Picot agreement.

The Balfour Declaration and the news of the  
Sykes-Picot agreement encouraged anti-British feeling  
among Arabs. Feisal's adherents and soldiers began  
refusing to take part in the war on the Entente's  
side. Their officers openly expressed indignation at  
Britain's double dealing and the leaders of the  
Arab uprising entered into negotiations with Turkey and  
threatened to conclude a separate peace with her.<sup>(42)</sup>

The first Arab-Turkish contacts were made in  
November 1917, acting on behalf of Porte, Jemal Pasha  
despatched his emissary to Aqaba and invited Feisal to  
Damascus for peace talks. In the summer of 1918, the  
talks were resumed, but came to nothing because of  
Turkish insolence in refusing to recognise the  
Arabs' terms for a separate peace, but by this time, it

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(41). Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939, first series, vol. IV (H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1952), p. 345,

(42). Lutsky (fn. 37), p. 397



was too late. The Turkish fleet was being defeated and the Entente's victory was becoming an accomplished fact.<sup>(43)</sup> It ended Turkish domination of the Arab land in Asia and resulted in the British controlling Palestine first through a military and then a civil administration. The Arabs soon realised that they had merely exchanged their Turkish master for the French and the British.

Arnold Toynbee restates the Jewish claims to a national home in Palestine as they have been built around the Balfour Declaration:

"Now, there I come to the Balfour Declaration. I may say I am extremely critical myself of the Balfour Declaration, which I mentioned just now in an aside, that as a young man I was working for the British Government during the First World War on the Turkish Empire, and that of course included Palestine. So I had a certain inside knowledge of what happened at that time. I am critical of the Balfour Declaration and still more critical of the conduct of the British

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(43). Ibid., p.397

Mandate during the next thirty years because, I think, we never took a line or made up our mind one way or the other, and that I think was extremely hard on both the Jews and the Arabs. Anyway, the Balfour Declaration really deals with and is essential to the point of the title. I don't know the exact words but there are two sentences really it consists of. The first is that Britain undertakes to uphold and support, or something like that, a Jewish national home in Palestine. The second clause is, provided that nothing is done to harm the interests of the existing inhabitants of the country, which at the time the Declaration was made in 1917, were more than 90 per cent Arabs, of course. And I blame the Balfour Declaration because the word "home" was vague. But it was made very clear, as I know directly from seeing the documents at the time as I was a temporary official in the British Foreign Office. It was made perfectly clear, it was accepted by Dr. Weizmann at the time, that "home" did not mean "state", because if "home", means "state", then the first clause of the Balfour Declaration would be incompatible with the second clause in it, which was equally

incumbent upon the British Government who made the Declaration that no harm should be done to the rights and interests of the existing inhabitants of the country.

"I do think, as I suppose everybody would think, that the Jews had a claim to a national home, but I do think that national home could not, without detriment - the detriment we have seen to 900,000 refugees - to the existing inhabitants of the country take the form of an exclusively Jewish state. It might have taken the form of a Palestinian state which included both Jews and Arabs on a footing of equality.

"You might say that that was a theoretical possibility and once the country be opened to Jewish immigration on terms and cited not by the existing population themselves, but by the British Government, the situation was going eventually to get out of hand. It is true, I think, that all regimes and peoples in Palestine since A.D.135 have tolerated and

and recognized the rights of Jews to live in Palestine. Always in Jerusalem there have been pious Jews studying laws, in this case in the most sacred place for all Jews in the world. The Turkish regime tolerated that, I do not know that the Crusaders did: if anyone did not, it was probably the Crusaders. But I don't know. Throughout history it has been so.

"Now, the national is an enlargement of that. The study of the law by about 5,000 Jews in Jerusalem at that time and 12,000 agricultural settlers in 1917. That was a rather old-fashioned form of Jewish National Home, and the Zionist movement (as led by Dr. Weizmann) and the British Government (as led by Mr. Balfour) by allowing more immigration, letting the Jews have the right as of right, but within limited numbers, to settle in Palestine - had undertaken not to harm the interests of the existing inhabitants of the country, have a university, have all the apparatus of modern civilization.

"Now, blame the Balfour Declaration in this sense, that I think a lawyer could prove that the two obligations undertaken in it were incompatible. But perhaps

it is only hindsight. Perhaps you cannot blame the British Government at the time too much for not having foreseen at that moment - though I do blame them all the same - that both communities were going to interpret this in ways which were incompatible with each other. Palestine was made into the so-called "A" class which was to be prepared for self-government and complete self-independence.

"The Arabs, being more than 90 per cent, actually thought that when Palestine became independent it would be an ~~an~~ Arab state with a Jewish minority. Some of the Jews were interpreting the national home as merely a half-way house toward the Jewish state. Some I am afraid said, even if that is not what the British meant, we are going to use it as a lever for having a Jewish state in the end. Very human, I can't blame them too much for that. I myself think that the Balfour Declaration was right in putting this limitation - you may say it is like the pound of flesh, the drop of blood, in the Merchant of Venice. If there was to be no detriment to the interests of the 90 per cent non-Jewish population, you could not have

much of a Jewish home, you could have a cultural one but you certainly couldn't have a political one. I think these were the conditions which were accepted by the Zionist organizations at the time laid down by the British which gave the Jews something that was very near to their hearts' desire. I did on paper safeguard the interests of the existing inhabitants of the country, which on all grounds of law and morality, one should do. (44)

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(44). The Töynbee Debate - Some Realities about Israel, pp. 10-13.

CHAPTER 111

THE BRITISH MANDATE IN PALESTINE  
AND JEWISH COLONIZATION

EARLY JEWISH COLONIZATION IN PALESTINE

Organised and enjoying the freedom of the American life, the American Jewish community started to turn their mind to the needs of Jews elsewhere. In August 1840 the Jews of New York had called a meeting pleading for the intervention of their Government on behalf of their brethren in Damascus, suffering under a ~~false~~ accusation of having committed a ritual murder. The President gladly acceded to their request, and made what protest he could to the Turkish Government. But it was not until about twenty years later that an organisation was formed, the "Board of Delegates of American Israelites", which watched over Jewish needs all over the world. It took its place besides the English Board of Deputies and the French Alliance, which had already proved their value. And the Reform movement so dominated Jewish life in the middle of the century that, when the "Union of American Hebrew  
(1)  
Congregations" was well established, the "Board

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(1). Magnus, Outlines of Jewish History (London, 1958), p. 208

resigned its functions to them, and they represented "American Jewish" interests abroad till the end of the century.

(2)

Alexander was responsible for the establishment of three modest institutions:

Firstly, 'The House of Converts', or 'The Hebrew College', as a training centre for future members of the mission. It was opened by Alexander in May 1842. The subjects taught were: Divinity, English, German, Hebrew, Arithmetic, Music and Translation (From English into Hebrew).

Secondly, 'The School of Industry, opened in 1843 under the mission's Clerk of Works. It was hosted for the converts with free board, lodging and clothing, and employed or trained to do such work as the mission needed in carpentry, joinery, and general repairs.

Thirdly, 'The Enquirer's Home, established also in

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(2). Michael Solomon Alexander, (whose original name was Wolf) - First Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem - was a converted Jew who hailed from Schonlake in the grand duchy of Posen. He came to England in 1820 at the age of 21 and engaged in teaching the Talmud, and was converted in 1825. He laboured as a missionary of the L.J.S. in Danzig, and then in London from 1830 until his selection for the bishopric of Jerusalem. During at least some of his years in London he taught Hebrew at King's College. He sailed with his wife and six children from Plymouth to Jerusalem. See A.L. Tibawi, British Interests in Palestine (Oxford, 1961), pp. 50-51.



1843, offering free board, lodging and clothing. (3) Alexander was also credited with establishing a primary school for boys and girls, but there is no contemporary evidence to support this assertion.

First Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem was a converted Jew who hailed from Schonlake in the grand duchy of Posen. He came to England in 1820 at the age of 21 and engaged in teaching the Talmud, and was converted in 1825. He laboured as a missionary of the L.J.S. in Danzig, and then in London from 1830 until his election for the bishopric of Jerusalem. During at least some of his years in London he taught Hebrew at King's College. He sailed with his wife and six children from Plymouth to Jerusalem. (4)

During the Ottoman period, three different (5) types of school system existed:

1. The State School: were part of the Ottoman

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(3). A.L. Tibawi, British Interests in Palestine (Oxford, 1961), pp. 75-76.

(4). Ibid. pp. 50-51.

(5). Edward Hagepian and A.B. Zahlan, "Palestine's Arab Population: The Demography of the Palestinians", Journal of Palestine Studies 3(4), Summer 1974: p 37.

public system of education that was first established in 1847. In 1914, the figures of the state school system in Palestine were as follows: 95 elementary schools (were comparatively numerous in the principal towns and villages); 3 Secondary Schools (were restricted to certain centres, usually in the chief city of each district); 234 teachers; 8,248 students<sup>(6)</sup> (of whom only 1,480 were girls).

2. The Private Muslim Schools: offered much more facilities, although they only reached the primary and post-primary levels. They were generally "Kuttab" type in mosques or public buildings. The figures for these schools in 1914 were as follows:

379 Schools

417 Teachers

8705 Students (of whom only 131 were girls).<sup>(7)</sup>

3. The Religious (Christian Mission) Schools:

Those of the Christian Foreign missions to

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(6). A.L. Tibawi, Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine (London, 1956), p.20.

(7). Ibid.

which the Christian Arabs of Palestine had the greatest access, especially because of Sultan Abdul Hamid's policy of the 1880's which forbade Muslim children to attend Christian schools.<sup>(8)</sup>

The first foreign mission school was founded in 1853 by the Church Missionary Society called the Bishop Gobat School (for boys) after the second Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem; it was the first of seventeen similar schools that were established during the Ottoman period. Some of these were:

Pensionnat St. Joseph (girls), 1848, in Jerusalem.

College des Freres, 1875, in Jerusalem.

Schmidt's Girls' College (German Catholic) in Jerusalem.

Friends Girls School, 1884 (American) in Ramallah.

Friends Boys School, 1901, in Ramallah.

Terra Sancta College in Jerusalem.

St. George's School, 1899, in Jerusalem.<sup>(9)</sup>

The medical mission, the House of Industry, the

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(8). A.L. Tibawi, A Modern History of Syria (London, 1969), p.176.

(9). Hagopian and Zahlan, (fn.5).

Inquirers Home, and a book depot, were all established during the early years.

In 1858, a school for boys was opened in the vicinity of Christ Church under a member of the mission; his wife was later given charge of another school for girls. Gobat's Annual Letter for 1863 notes these two schools, the one for the sons of proselytes, and the other a girls boarding school in which the pupils were taught 'habits of industry' designed, if not to convert them, at least to 'soften their feelings towards Christianity'.

Since 1848, Miss Cooper, had been running a 'school' for Jewish women, to teach them needle-work. In July 1864, a Jewish traveller, Albert Cohn, visited Jerusalem, and published his observations in "The Jewish Record". He observed:

Firstly, the "Rothschild Hospital" in Jerusalem with eighteen beds and some 6,000 out-patients of all faiths.

Secondly, The 'School of Industry' (Presumably the 'House of Industry' initiated by Alexander and Maintained by L.J.S.)<sup>(10)</sup>

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(10) Ibid., pp.149-150

Thirdly, The 'Refugee Houses' outside the City wall where forty families were housed.

Albert Cohn further states that 'the opening of a European or a French School for girls does not meet with opposition (Jewish), and it shows that a true spirit of religious civilization begins to reign in the Holy City.

The (English) Society for Promoting Female Education in the east opened and maintained schools in Mazareth and other Centres. The (Scottish) Tabeetha Mission opened and maintained a school in Jaffa (commonly known as Miss Arnott School), after the name of the teacher who started it, Miss Walker-Arnott) and the American Friends opened a girls school, and later a boys school, at Ramallah north of Jerusalem.

Among these organisations, the C.M.S was like a giant. Their work was on a larger scale, and their material resources more than sufficient. At this stage, they professed to work for the ultimate "evangelizing of the Muslims by enlightening the Eastern Christians".<sup>(11)</sup>

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(11). Ibid., p.161.

The Alliance Israelite Universelle, was organised in 1860 with its Centre in Paris and Constituent Committees in many countries. Somewhat earlier, American Jewry, a young and small community, established its Board of Delegates of American Israelites which was also in direct response to the Mortara affair and sought too "to elevate the social conditions of Israelites in countries where laws discriminated (12) against them."

Following the Franco-German War of 1870, the branches of the Alliance in some countries outside France were set up as independent organisations devoted to the same end; and in this way were founded the Anglo-Jewish Association in 1871 and the "Israelitische Allianz in (13) Austria" in 1872. German Jewry in 1901 established its own Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden.

All these organisations, dedicated to the same end, aimed to carry out a traditional Jewish duty - material aid on an international scale. But they were guided also

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(12). Max J. Kohler, "The Board of Delegates of American Israelites." - 1856-1878" PJHS, XXIV, 84; Ben Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State, Second edition, (Harvard, 1969), p.112.

(13). JE, S.V., Anglo-Jewish Association and Israelitische Allianz zu Wien and See Halpern, p.112.

by the principles of a modern ideology. It is clear, that, the efforts of the "Alliance Israelite Universelle" which was founded in 1860, made efforts towards promotion of the emancipation and moral improvement of the Jews. In 1871 the Anglo-Jewish Association was formed in London with similar aims, because it was feared that the Franco-Prussian War would cripple the Alliance. The activities of the Association were principally concerned with the Jews in Europe. But like Alliance, though on a much smaller scale, it took interest in Jewish education in Palestine. "Evelina de Rothschild School", famous in Jerusalem for the education of girls, represents its best effort.

The schools of the Alliance Israelite, however, are described as excellent in their efficient organisation and their comprehensive curricula.

Gobat's conception of education was very simple. "If the Word of God could be taught to a number of children, it did not matter in the least how or where or even by whom. Methods of teaching, school

building and equipment and qualifications of teachers  
(14)  
were of secondary or negligible importance. Gobat was  
a missionary first and an educational expert, if at all,  
last. Indeed, he personally had few qualifications  
for directing an educational service. His own education  
was quite elementary, and by the English standards of  
the time too meagre for a bishop.

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- (14). Samuel Gobat Bishop of Jerusalem (His Life and Work)  
(London, 1884) was published after the Bishop's  
death, with a preface by the Earl of Shaftesbury.  
The first half of the book purports to be an  
Autobiography, recording the events of Gobat's  
life up to his arrival in Jerusalem as Anglican  
Bishop. The second half is a Biography written  
by members of his family and dealing with Gobat's  
episcopate till his death in 1879. There is a  
German edition of the two parts. Henceforth ref-  
erence to this book will be either as the Life and  
Work of Samuel Gobat, or simply as the Autobiography  
or the Biography as the case may be. Both parts  
of the book show signs of deliberate whitewashing  
and should be read with the greatest caution.  
From internal evidence (pp.78, 198, 217) the  
Autobiography was written between 1869 and 1873.  
According to this, Gobat was born in 1799 in a small  
village in the Yura, then French territory, but after  
the fall of Napoleon part of the Swiss Canton of  
Berne. His parents were farmers. He attended the  
village school upto the age of fifteen. The language  
of instruction was French. Gobat learned some German  
in Basle a little English there and in London.  
From, Tibawi, (fn.8), pp 88-87. See, Hagopian, Palestine  
Arab Population, article in Palestine Studies, vol.  
111, No.4, Summer 1974. and Zahlan (fn.5).



The "Technikum", or "Technical College", was the first to be built, though the University - the foundation of which was laid in the midst of the War, and the opening of which did not take place until 1925 - had been spoken of long before. The "Technikum" was the child of "A chad Ha-am" and Shmarya Lenin. The first considerable sum of money towards the institution was given by Wissotsky, the Russian tea magnate, a man of immense wealth, devoted to Jewish cause, and something of a Hebrew scholar.

He was the main support of 'Ha-Shiloach', the Hebrew monthly, and the "Mecenas" of Ahad Ha-am. Wissotsky's contribution was one hundred thousand roubles, then about £10,000, and with this the building could be put up and the necessary equipment purchased. Wissotsky, who was advanced in years, and could not often attend the meetings of the "Curatorium", or "Board of Directors", which were held in Berlin, appointed  
(15)  
A chad Ha-am a member.

Gobat's finances came from contributions and donations from all over the Protestant World, he received

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(15). Ibid., p.155

also regular payment from the "Jerusalem Diocesan Missionary Fund" established under the chairmanship of Shaftesbury in 1852-53. "In that year its receipts amounted to £698. The following year the amount rose to £1,474. It is interesting to look at the expenditure for 1853-4:

Diocesan School, Jerusalem

Salaries of staff...	£ 230.00
Food and clothing to pupils	£ 226.00
Nabulus School	£ 62.00
Jaffa School ) (16)	£ 61.00
Bethlehem School	
Deaconesses salaries	80.00
Temporal Relief (Jewish converts)	175.00 (17)

Note on Gobat's School, 1856

Jerusalem (2)      Bethlehem (1)    Nablus (1)    Jaffa (2)

Boys and Girls

Boys	Girls	Irregular attendance			Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
41	44	20	to	40	60	4	28	53
	85		30			64		81

(16). Thus together, with no separate account for either

(17). Tibawi (fn.8), p.3.

Of the total of 260 pupils in the six schools, 39 were children of unconverted Jews, 16 children of Jewish proselytes and 6 children of Samaritans. The remainder (18) were Arab children including 68 of Protestant parents.

At the base of the educational pyramid was universal primary education, towards which the Jewish Agency received a small grant from the Administration. The primary schools were of various kinds, some being run by the Histadruth in the interests of a left-wing philosophy, some by the religious parties in the interests of Jewish orthodoxy. Secondary education remained a private venture, but at the top was splendid Hebrew University on "Mount Scopus" above Jerusalem, to which was added a Technical College in Haifa (The Technion), and a number of very important agricultural and scientific institutes gathered round the home of Dr. Weizmann at Rehovoth. (19)

These schools went beyond the primary level, providing the largest and most comprehensive educational programmes available in Palestine. They were, again,

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(18). Ibid., p.117

(19). Magnus (fn.1), p.239.

largely, concentrated in the main urban centres where most of the Christian population lived. Higher education was almost non-existent and only a few could afford to avail themselves of the universities in Cairo, Beirut and Istanbul.<sup>(20)</sup>

Education during the mandatory period did not change very radically in scope or availability. "The mandatory power did little to foster a widespread educational movement and the state schools were remarkably poor in quality and quantity."<sup>(21)</sup> There were 25 public secondary classes until 1930. In 1944, there were 37,299 elementary school children (of whom only 70 per cent were girls). In all, 959 students were enrolled in 1944.

Private Muslim schools increased in number as did the number of the students as follows:

From 45 schools in 1925 to 160 in 1944.

From 3,445 students in 1925 to 14,995 in 1943.

While the number of private Christian Schools

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(20). Hagopian and Zahlan (fn.5), p.39.

(21). Ibid., p.46

showed a marginal decline, from 183 in 1925 to 177 in 1943.<sup>(22)</sup>

THE JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS - "KIBBUTZIM, MOSHAV"  
FARMS COLONIZATION ETC.

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The history of the Jewish settlements in Palestine goes back to the First Aliyah, that began in (23) (1882) and continued until 1903. Twenty five to thirty thousand immigrant Jews entered Palestine during that (24) period. Almost all emigrants from (Tsarit Russia, Poland and Rumania), came with the aim to change of the life of the Jewish people through their settlement in Palestine. Most of the previous inhabitants were safaradi and Oriental Jews, and the rest were Ashkenazi.

The Jewish immigrants established a number of Moshavot - agricultural settlements - on the land with the financial help of the Hovevi Zion movement. Baron (25) Edmond de Rothschild supported these settlements by

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(23). Nadav Safran, The United States and Israel, (Harvard, 1963), p.65.

(24). M. Weintraub, Lissak and Y. Azmon, Moshava, Kibbutz, and Moshav, (Ithaca and London, 1969), p.3 and See Safran (fn.23).

(25). Edmond de Rothschild, The Paris banker and philanthropist, who suffered many Jewish undertakings and charities.

by providing financial resources and professional agricultural guidance, benefitted the new colonialists. (26)

The settlers began to specialize in vineyards and the same time, cellars were built for a wine industry and marketing the produce abroad. The professional and business administration of the vineyards and the wine industry was concentrated in the hands of the Baron's experts, and they had no weightage in the decision making process. The Jewish agricultural-colonisation in Palestine began in 1870 with the founding of an agricultural school for boys near Jaffa. The Hovevei Zion of Russia with the <sup>help</sup> ~~ship~~ of Baron de Rothschild, founded Zifron Yakov, Rosh Pina, Rehovoth, Katra, and Kastinich in the 'eighties and 'nineties. (27)

And in 1878, a group of Hungarian Jews set out from Jerusalem to found an agricultural colony eight miles from Jaffa which they called Petach Tikva- The Gate of Hope. (28) The Alliance Israelite universelle (29) ,founded

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(26). Alfred Lilienthal, What Price Israel? (Beirut, 1969), p.166.

(27). Herbert Sidebotham, Great Britain and Palestine, London, 1937) p.90 and See Ben-Gurion, Israel: Years of Challenge (New York, 1963), p.4.

(28). Safran, (fn.23), p.65.

(29). A French Jewish Philanthropic - Cultural Organization See, Michael Curtis and Mordecai Chertoff, Israel: Social Structure and Change (New Jersey, 1973) p.284 and see Safran (fn.23), p.65.

(30)  
an agricultural school near Jaffa-Mikve Yisre , The  
Refuge of Israel.

Between the first Zionist Congress 1897, in  
Basle and the First World War, the Zionist movement  
brought into existence the following institutions,  
which played a decisive role in the administration  
of the Jewish settlements in Palestine:

The Anglo-Palestine Bank: was established  
in 1902. The Bank was intended to serve as the financial  
instrument for the granting of credits to develop  
towns and villages.<sup>(31)</sup>

THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND , (The Keren Kayemeth Lebrael).

It was Hermann Shapira, the German Zionist who was  
instrumental in founding the Jewish National Fund in  
1902.<sup>(32)</sup> Its purpose was to purchase lands in Palestine  
and rent it to the Kibbutz on a ninety-nine year  
renewable lease, for which the latter would pay an  
annual rent (starting only after its fifty year) of  
2 per cent of the original cost of the land plus

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(30). Ben-Gurion (fn:27)

(31). Weintraub et al., (fn.24), p.6.

(32). ~~Sachar~~ Howard Sachar

(33)  
improvements. The Fund ultimately made possible the social experiment of co-operative farm settlement.

THE PALESTINE OFFICE: The Office was established in 1908, to coordinate all settlement projects in Palestine on behalf of the Zionist movement. (34) Within a period of fifteen years from 1900 to 1914, the number of Jewish settlements and their agricultural population went up from 19 settlements with 3000 inhabitants to 43 settlements with 7500 inhabitants. The number of Jewish hired agricultural labourers increased from 1000 at the onset of the post-war period to 10,000. (35) The Second Aliyah brought to the country about 40,000 Jewish immigrants between 1904 and 1914. (36)

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(33). Melford E. Spiro, "Kibbutz, Venture in Utopia", New York, 1956, p.19 and See Lillienthal (fn.26), p.183. See Walter Lehn, "The Jewish National Fund" Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol.111.No.4,p.75-76.

(34). Weintraubs et al, (fn.24), p.6.

(35). Sidebotham, (fn.27), p.94.

(36). Safran, (fn.23), p.67.



The men immigrants of the Second Aliyah developed unions of rural and urban workers, co-operative enterprises, and mutual aid societies which became the foundation of the Histadrut - the impressive General Federation of Jewish Workers - The founded the Kibbutz (ki-boots') a communal settlement, in which members contribute labour in return for food, housing and other necessities, which are provided from group earnings. Most Kibbutzim are agricultural, though some supplement their income with industry.<sup>(37)</sup> The earliest Kibbutz, Daganah, was established on the bank of the Jordan River near the Sea of Galilee in 1910. The Kibbutz has been an open society.

The kibbutz has long played a role in the leadership and <sup>activity</sup> ~~making~~ of public bodies, left-of-centre parties, Histadrut, the diplomatic service and military organization. It provided the core of the Palmach, the commando units of Haganah.<sup>(38)</sup> Today, numerous

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(37). See The Encyclopedia Americana, International Edition (New York, 1968) vol.16, p.399.

(38). A.B. Magil, Israel in Crisis, (New York, 1950).

Kibbutzim have built along the frontiers and are of strategic importance in the defense of Israel. The founders of the Kibbutzim great emphasized that women must play an equally active role with men in the nation building process and contribute to the development of the society. This socio-economic equality could not be established unless someone (39) took care of the children.

The Third Aliyah, began in 1918 and brought 25,000 Jews, mainly from Russia, who were predominantly pioneers belonging to the Zionist, socialist movements and shared the ideologies and aspirations of the men of the Second Aliyah. In 1921, after restricting the tasks of the Jewish National Fund to the purchase of land and its initial preparation for cultivation, the Zionist Organization established a new fund, the Keren Hayessod (Foundation Fund), to finance the essential equipment and supplies required (40) by the settlers. This Third Aliyah not only created the Labor Battalion (Gdud Haavoda) but also influenced

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(39). Curtis, and Chertoff (fn.29), p.106.

(40). Weintraub (fn.24), p.12.

the existing agricultural settlements and especially the form of the Krutza.

Beginning with 1924, the Fourth Aliyah, brought about the immigration into Palestine, of as many as sixty to eighty thousand persons, and this inflow continued until 1929<sup>(41)</sup>. Unlike the second and third waves of immigrants, this fourth one comprised elements who were predominantly merchants and artisans, most of whom possessed a small capital and came with their families.

The Fifth Aliyah, that was the biggest wave of immigration in all the period preceding the establishment of Israel, continued from 1932 until 1939, and brought with it nearly 225,000 Jews<sup>(42)</sup>. The majority of the immigrants came from Poland, and were of a young age. One-third of the number was from Germany and Central Europe as a result of the Nazis' rise to power. This brought a new element into the Yishav. A large number of them were doctors, lawyers, engineers, journalists, technicians, men

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(41). Ibid., p.15.

(42). Safran (fn.23), p.69 and See Weintraub et al, (fn.24), pp.16-17.

with experience in administration, finance, and business organization, scholars and scientists, some with international reputation, in addition to (43) large number of people with substantial capital.

This Fifth Aliyah gave an impetus to the development of the industry, the commerce, the science, the culture and many other aspects of the Yishuv's life. And also it gave European character and composition to the Yishuv.

From 1939 onward, Jewish immigration to Palestine was virtually forbidden by the mandatory government. In 1948, with the establishment of the state of Israel in the Arab lands, immigration was resumed on a large scale. The Jewish immigrants came to Palestine from more than fifty countries; but over 90 percent of them came from the countries specified in the following table. This table shows us the approximate figures for the period between 1948 and 1960.

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(43). Safran, (fn.23), p.69.

Sources of Immigration May 1948 to May 1960

(Approximate figures)<sup>(44)</sup>

<u>Europe:</u>		<u>Asia:</u>	
Rumania	145,000	Iraq	120,000
Poland	130,000	Yemen	50,000
Bulgaria	39,000	Turkey	36,000
Hungary	27,000	Iran	33,000
Czechoslovakia	18,000	India	5,500
Yugoslavia	1,500		=====
U.S.S.R.	5,000	Total Asia:	244,500
Other European countries	45,000		
	=====	<u>Africa:</u>	
Total European	416,500	Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco	150,000
		Libya	32,000
<u>America:</u>		Egypt	25,000
U.S.A.	5,000		=====
Other American countries	10,000	Total Africa:	207,000
	=====		
Total American:	15,000		
	=====		
Undermined	22,000		
=====			
Grand Total			905,000
=====			

(44). Safran (fn.23), p.71.

PALESTINE UNDER THE BRITISH MANDATE

The "Mandate" was a new concept in international relations. The system was created by article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, forming part of the Treaty of Versailles of June 28, 1918. In the language of the Covenant, this tutelage was to be entrusted to "Advanced Nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League".<sup>(45)</sup>

The area detached from the Ottoman Empire was inhabited by Arabs and was to be turned into several mandated territories. In the distribution of the Arab Regions, France received Syria and Lebanon, whose people did not consider themselves backward or in need of a training period. Lebanon, particularly,

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(45). Emil Lengyel, The Changing Middle East, pp.36-37. David W. Miller and Clark D. Moore, The Middle East Yesterday and Today, p.197.

had long been exposed to Western influence. The former Mesopotamia was renamed Iraq and placed under the tutelage of Britain, as was Palestine, which eventually was bisected into Palestine proper and Transjordan- Russia had been promised Constantinople and the straits during the war, but the 1917 Revolution and the subsequent separate peace which the Soviet Government had made with the Central Powers had, so far as the Allies were concerned, cancelled the obligation. Beside fear of the "Bolshevik "menace" had already set in and the West was as determined to keep the U.S.S.R. from access to the Mediterranean as it had been with the old Russian Empire. <sup>(45)</sup>

"The Sherif Husein", the patriarch of powerful Hashemi family, sent his son, Abdullah, on a mission to the British Agency in Egypt. Would His Majesty's Government be interested, asked Abdullah, in supporting an Arab revolt against the Sultan? The British officials in Cairo were taken completely by surprise. They had never contemplated the Arabs as possible allies, and still less as a potential buffer against Turko-German

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(46). Ibid., pp.197-198.

expansion. Hussein's overtures opened out entirely new areas of exploration. Of course, "His Majesty's Government" <sup>(47)</sup> was very much interested."

Negotiations between High Commissioner Henry McMahon and the Hashemi family <sup>continued</sup> ~~continued~~ throughout 1914 and 1915.

In October 1915, McMahon sent to Hussein a note which the Arabs henceforth recognized as their "Declaration of Independence". By the provisions of the note McMahon declared Britain's willingness to recognize the independence of the Arabs, both in the Levant and in the Hejaz. The Arab portions of the Turkish Empire were divided into administrative units known as vilayets and sanjaks. Palestine, for example, was divided into the sanjaks of Acre and Nablus, both of which belonged to the vilayets of Beirut, and the independent sanjaks of Jerusalem. The areas exempted from Arab control by the McMahon note included (Syria West of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and City of Damascus) which left Palestine in their hands.

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(47). Sachar (fn.32), p.370.



In 1915, none of these problems of interpretation occurred to Abdullah or Hussein, and they agreed to the British terms. In June of 1916 the tribes of the Hejaz revolted against the Turks.

In the spring of 1916, acting on such misgivings, the British, French, and Russians entered into an agreement for their own postwar disposition of the Levant. By the terms of the Sykes-Picot-Sazonov agreement, Britain reserved for herself the area which later became Trans-Jordan, while all of Iraq except Mosul and its district, Syria and Cilicia, were allocated to France. Russia, in turn, earmarked Constantinople and the Armenian as a rather cynical piece of double dealing, not merely because it contradicted the McMahon pledge to Hussein, but also because it partitioned the Arab rectangle in such a way as to place artificial obstacles in the way of Arab unity.<sup>(48)</sup>

The Mandatory idea found little favour in Arab eyes. Meeting in Damascus on July 2, 1919, the General Syrian Congress protested "against Article 22

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(48). Ibid., p.372

of the Covenant of the League of Nations placing us among the nations in their middle stages of development which stand in need of a mandatory power." The Arabs inhabiting the Syrian area, the protest stated further, were not naturally less gifted than the Bulgarians, Rumanians, Siberians and Greeks had been at the beginning of their independence.

The Arab nationalist movement reversed Feisal's guarded approval of the Balfour Declaration and explicitly reasserted on numerous occasions its claim over Palestine, but its opposition was weak and ineffective. In 1920 it became segmented as a result of the division of the Arab territories into several political entities under French and British control and each part became absorbed in local struggles. In Palestine itself, the movement was left with hardly  
(49)  
any strength.

During the Peace Conference, Emir Feisal, son of Hussain the Sherif of Mecca, met various Jewish leaders and signed agreement with Dr. Chaim Weizmann,

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(49). Millar and Moore (fn.45), p.198

leader of the Zionist movement. Feisal, who in 1921 became king of Iraq and a leader of the Arabs, included a clause according to which Arab peasants and tenant farmers' rights were to be protected in the proposed Jewish State. To this Feisal added the reservation that if the Arabs were granted their independence he would abide by the clause, but if the slightest modifications were made he would not be bound by a single word of the agreement. (50)

In April 1920, the Powers meeting in San Remo, affirmed the British Mandate over Palestine.

The terms of the Mandate were also discussed with the United States which was not a member of the League but approved the Mandate for Palestine at the Anglo-American convention of December 1924.

On July 1, 1920 Sir Herbert Samuel, the first High Commissioner for Palestine, including Transjordan, relieved the military authorities of their burden.

"During the five years of Sir Herbert Samuel's Civil Administration four separate, yet parallel governments were formed. Most important was the British executive government, composed of various administrative departments

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(50). David Hunter Miller, My Diary of the Conference of Paris, (1921), vol. III, p. 31.

over each of which the High Commissioner appointed a British director or secretary. These officials formed a Cabinet, whose first secretary was Wyndham Deedes. Departments were established for public works, education, immigration, customs, excise and trade, antiquities, treasury, revenue, attorney-general, police, health, agriculture and forests, posts and telegraphs, lands and audit. An advisory council consisting of ten British officials, four Muslims, three Christians, and three Jews was appointed. An effective legislative Council was projected, but it never came into existence because of disagreement over the ratio of representation between Arabs and Jews" (51)

The Jewish community inaugurated the second government. In the fall of 1920 a Jewish national assembly (Vaad Leumi) was elected. The High Commissioner recognized it as representative of the Jewish community in Palestine. The national council governed the Jews of Palestine in personal, communal, and religious affairs and recommended actions to British authorities concerning matters affecting the Jewish community.

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(51). Fisher Sydney Nettleton, The Middle East: A History, second edition, (London, 1971), p.429.

Certain Jews of pre-war Palestinian residence, however, clung to a theocratic concept of the Jewish life and refused to be governed by the national council.

Supported by Agudath Israel, they disclaimed all connections with political and nationalistic Zionism, but proved too small a minority for the British Palestine Administration (52) to recognize in any formal way.

The third Government was the international Zionist organization with headquarters in London. It represented more than thirty Zionist groups in many parts of the world and had sponsored the drive which obtained the Balfour Declaration in November 1917. Some of these executives lived and worked in Palestine, and they were known as the Palestine Zionist executive during 1921 and 1929. ~~The Zionist executive during 1921 and 1929.~~ The Zionist executive followed the policies established by the Zionist Organizations in London and augmented the administration of the mandatory administration in Palestine.

These three "governments" represented imperialism, Jewish settlers, and world Jewry, respectively.

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(52). Ibid., p.429

The fourth government tried to represent the majority of Palestinian people - Muslim and Christian Arabs. With the eyes of the world upon the Holy Land of three religions, Sir Herbert Samuel found the task of governing the mandate a challenge to human ingenuity. He had to fulfill the mission of the mandatory power instructing the people - eighty five percent of whom were Arabs, and preparing the way for self-government and independence. (53)

An agreed text was confirmed by the League of Nations on 24 July 1922 and it came into operation in September 1923.

Under the Mandate Palestine was ruled like any other British Colony of those days. The administration had instructions that it should work for the eventual establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. The mandatory authorities, almost from the beginning, encouraged tens of thousands of Jewish migrants from Europe to settle in Palestine. Thus by Articles 2,4 and 6 of the Mandate, the League of Nations expressed agreement with the principle of establishing a "National home for the Jewish people in Palestine", sanctioned the immigration of Jews, and recognised the Zionist movement, whose mouthpiece

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(53). Ibid., pp.429-430

from then on was to be the Jewish Agency. Sir Herbert Samuel, member of a prominent British Jewish family but not a Zionist, was appointed first High Commissioner of Palestine.<sup>(54)</sup> The Arabs, however, opposed the Mandate. As a result Arab-Jewish riots broke out. Courts of inquiry were appointed. Before one such court the Zionist Commission deposed in 1921, "There can be only one national home in Palestine, and a Jewish one, and no equality in partnership between the Jews and the Arabs, but a Jewish preponderance as soon as the number of the race is increased".

The sudden increase in Jewish immigration in 1925 was very largely the result of new restrictive immigration laws, which cut down Jewish immigration to the United States from 50,000 in 1924 to 10,000 in 1925. In September 1929 a British Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir Walter Shaw, was sent to investigate the "Palestine disturbances". The report of the Shaw Commission offered no solution to the problem of the Palestine Mandate. It was unsatisfactory

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(54). George Lenczowski, The Middle East in World Affairs, (Thaca, New York, 1956), p.377.

to both Arabs and Jews. And the permanent Mandates commission of the League of Nations severely criticized the manner in which the British government had administered Palestine. Under fire from all sides the British in May 1930 sent an experienced expert of the Anglo-Indian government to Palestine to report on land settlement.<sup>(55)</sup>

The Royal Commission, after reaching the conclusion that the mandate was unworkable, did not simply go on to recommend its nullification but found it necessary to recommend the partition of the country into a Arab state, a Jewish state and a British enclave. The course recommended by the Royal Commission in 1937 was to be recommended again ten years later by the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine for substantially identical reasons, the British Government felt impelled by international circumstances on the eve of the World War II to pursue a policy under which it dropped the partition proposal and tried in fact to

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(55). Royal Institute of International Affairs, Great Britain and Palestine (London, 1946), p.38.



(56)  
reverse the Balfour Declaration.

The League of Nations sent its own 'Wailing Wall Commission' to seek solution to the problem of access to the Holy places. On October 1930 British Colonial Secretary Sidney Webb, Lord Passfield, issued a White Paper on Palestine. The White Paper, based on various reports, confirmed the dual obligation of the Mandate to the Jews and the Arabs.

By 1935, serious trouble was clearly brewing, the Arabs demanded immediate self-government and a complete stop to Jewish immigration. By the end of April 1936, a general Arab strike had spread through Palestine and led to violence between the Arabs and the Jews as well as against Britain. The Arabs fought a guerrilla war against the British Mandate and defied the British armed strength. This critical situation brought another reaction from the other Arab countries, from the Zionists, and eventually from the British Government which sent another Royal Commission to Palestine under the leadership of Earl Peel.

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(56). Nadav Safran, "The Arab-Israeli Dispute in Perspective" Current History (December 1967), pp.322-23, and Miller and Moore (fn.45), pp.199.

The report of the Peel Commission recommended the termination of the Mandate and the partition of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state, as the royal commissioners came to the conclusion that the terms of the Mandate were impossible of fulfilment. <sup>(57)</sup> In consequence of this recommendation the British government, which still was not aware of the fact that it was not its own master in matters pertaining to Palestine, turned to partition as a solution. It also sent to Palestine a technical commission under Sir John Woodhead to work out the details of partition. This Palestine partition commission fulfilled its mission with great skill and shrewdness. It showed a variety of ways in which Palestine might be partitioned and in doing so convinced the British cabinet that partition was impossible, <sup>(58)</sup> whereupon the British repudiated the partition.

Tension in Palestine was mounting as the world crisis approached its second great conclusion. The undecisiveness of the British Government drove the Arabs into open rebellion in 1938. Confronted with

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(57). British Blue Book, Palestine Royal Commission, (Cmd. 5479, 1937, p.13).

(58). British Blue Book, Palestine Partition Commission, (cmd. 5854, 1938).

a major international crisis and a stubborn insurrection in Palestine, The British were compelled to use military force to crush the Arabs. After re-establishing order the British called an Anglo-Arab-Jewish Congress in London. When, however, both Arabs and Jews refused to co-operate, the British made a unilateral declaration of policy (59) in May 1939 known as the White Paper of 1939.

The White Paper definitely stated that it was not the policy of the British Government that Palestine should become a Jewish State. It limited Jewish immigration during the next five years to a total of 75,000 and provided that thereafter no further Jewish immigration would be permitted without the consent of the Arabs.

The 1939 White Paper provided for the placing of very definite limitations on the acquisition of land by Jews. It granted the High Commissioner authority to forbid the transfer of land and under

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(59). British White Paper, Palestine, Statement of Policy, cmd.6019, 1939.

this authority drastic land transfer regulations were issued in 1940.

The British White Paper of 1939 was of significant importance in shaping developments in Palestine and the other Arab countries of Western Asia differed in their reaction to this new statement of policy by the British Government. Some declared it unacceptable, others protested against it, and 'only a minority of the Arab political leaders regarded the white paper as an acceptable compromise.'<sup>(60)</sup>

On the whole, however, many of the Arab leaders came to realize how favourable the white paper was to Palestine Arabs, and eventually the Arabs became reconciled to it.<sup>(61)</sup> On the contrary no Zionist could accept this White Paper. It aroused profound indignation throughout the world Jewry, and it was unremittingly opposed until Great Britain gave up the Mandate in 1948.

#### THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The outbreak of the World War II, presented

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(60). Esco Foundation for Palestine, Palestine, A study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies, (Yale, 1947), p.145.

(61). Frank C. Sakran, Palestine Dilemma (Washington, D.C., 1948), p.159.

an unrivalled opportunity to the Zionists for the fulfilment of their objective. Taking advantage of the world wide sympathy for the Jewish persecution by Hitler in Germany and Eastern Europe, the Zionist lobby got active in Western countries to prepare the ground for the final occupation of Palestine as the so-called Jewish Home Land. Their first victory came when Winston Churchill as the Prime Minister allowed in 1940 the formation of a Jewish brigade as an integral part of the British army in Palestine. The overt objective of the formation of the brigade was to help in the defence of the Middle East against the danger of Nazi onslaught. However, it became apparent that under the cover of the Jewish brigade the Zionists were able to form a large military organisation which was later to be used for acts of terrorism and intimidation against the Arabs.

When the Second World War broke out, the responsible heads of the Yishuv the Jewish community in Palestine, and of the Zionist movements realised that the Jewish people could not remain neutral. The Arabs sided with the Nazis and the Jews stood

by those who fought the Nazis. Ben-Gurion declared:  
"Our task was to help the British against Hitler as  
(62)  
though there was no War".

During the Second World War, the World  
Jewry was united, and also during the War the British  
Army and Haganah co-operated, 25,000 young men and  
women enlisted voluntarily in the Jewish Units of  
(63)  
the British Army.

In the spring of 1940: "A secret department  
acting with full official authority went into Conference  
with David Hachon representing the Jewish Agency,  
and they reached an agreement according to which  
the Haganah would supply Rumanian speaking agents  
for a sabotage role in the Rumanian oil-fields."

This operation (which Wingate offered to  
lead) never came to anything, and was probably too  
ambitious, and difficult to succeed without long pre-  
war preparation, but it led to other Anglo-Haganah contacts.

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David  
(62). / Ben-Gurion, Israel, Years of Challenge (New York,  
1963), p.16.

(63). Ibid., p.16

The approach to Hacothen synchronised with discussion on the same subject between vieled British authorities in Cairo and the Jewish Agency Executive. This led in turn to British Military instructors training Haganah personnel in a variety of military techniques, chiefly those suited to raiding behind the enemy lines. (64)

#### EMERGENCE OF JEWISH PARLIAMENTARY ORGANIZATIONS

A major change came when Fosh (65) rose to prominence through the initiative of a Young Scotsman who had come to Palestine in 1936 as an Intelligence Officer in the Fifth Division. (66) His name was Orde Wingate, a cousin of Sir Reginald Wingate. (67)

In the words of David Ben-Gurion "Charles Orde Wingate was a Scott born in India. He was brought

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(65). Fosh (group in secret Jewish Army).

(66). C. Sykes, Orde Wingate (London, 1959) .

(67). Sir Reginald Wingate (1861-1953) a British Army Officer and Administrator, was Governor-General of Sudan, 1899 and High Commissioner for Egypt, 1916-19; author of (Mahison and the Egyptian Sudan 1891. See (From Haven to Conquest).

up in an atmosphere of rigid puritanism. He was commissioned as Second Lieutenant in an artillery unit and began to learn Arabic in preparation for a posting in the East. In 1928 he joined the  
(68)  
Sudan Defence Force.

"He had experience in dealing with organised marauders. He completed his service in Sudan and returned home and married Lorna Paterson. At first Wingate was not welcomed by the Jews, who fancied they saw a one-sided Arab Sympathiser and relative of a famous Arabist pro-Consul and Empire-builder, but "they soon recognised their mistake and he was  
(69)  
received among them as one of themselves."

The disturbances in Palestine brought him back to the East. In the autumn of 1937, Wingate was posted to an intelligence unit at Haifa. He sought contact with the Jews, and met Emanuel W. Lenski, head of the Hagana's intelligence service. Wingate's candour impressed W. Lenski and introduced him to David

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(68). Jewish Observer and Middle East Review (September 27, 1963), pp.15-16. See also From Haven to Conquest (Beirut, 1971), p.382.

(69). S.Christopher (fn.60), p.220 and Palestine from Balfour to Nevin (London, 1965), p.220.



(70)  
Hacohen. Together they set out to tour Galilee settlements. Hacohen was struck was Wingate's extraordinary familiarity with the Bible and by his military interpretation of its historic events "as if they had happened yesterday".<sup>(71)</sup> He started to study Hebrew and paid many visits to the Jewish settlements.

In 1937 Wingate met Dr. Weizmann, Ben-Gurion,<sup>(72)</sup> Shertok (later Sharett) and Eliahu Golomb. He told them about his plans for the establishment of a Jewish Army. At first they regarded Wingate with some suspicion, but his profound enthusiasm won their confidence.

The Jewish leaders gave the permission he sought. He made his Headquarters at the Jewish settlement of Ein Harod towards the Eastern end of the Vale

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(70). David Hacohen (born 1898), a Russian-Born Israeli politician, who acted on behalf of the Jewish Agency and British Army authorities in Special Intelligence; became Israeli Minister to Burma, (1953-1955).

(71). From Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, September 27, 1963 and see From Haven to Conquest, Ben-Gurion, "Our Friend What Wingate did for us".

(72). Eliahu Golomb was a founder-member of the Haganah and member of its high command.

of Esdraclon, the Enek Jazred.

He recruited his following largely from Fosh, and he first took them into action on the 3rd of June, 1938. He became a close friend of Chaim and Vera Weizmann. The Special Night Squads, as he called his force, operated regularly until December 1938. After this, with the arrival of large British reinforcements, they were drastically reduced in numbers and had a very minor role. Nevertheless the operations continued till the summer of 1939. Wingate was not habitually modest in the appraisal of his achievements, but probably on this occasion, as certainly with 1943 Burma expedition which brought him fame, (73) he achieved more than he was likely to guess.

In the early months of 1938 the guerillas in the hills were particularly active. In 1938, 69 British were killed, 95 Jews and 486 Arab civilians. Over 1000 rebels were killed in action. The disturbance did not die (74) down until September 1939 when the War began.

Wingate noticed that the remarkable success

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(73). S. Christopher (fn.64), p.221.

(74). Chaim Wieszmann, Trail and Error (London, 1949), p.488

of the Arab guerrillas lay in the fact that they operated at night, while the counter-action by the British troops in the country was usually undertaken by day with meagre results in proportion to the manpower employed. He worked out a scheme for regular night operation in Galilee with the object of defending the oil-line to Haifa that was because the Arab guerrillas descended on the Haifa-Mosul pipeline from time to time, destroyed a section of it, and retreated as fast as they had come.

Wingate created a special motor-cycle squad to patrol the whole length of the line, and by matching speed against speed, eliminated the threat. The Jews under his Command were especially feared by the Arabs.

In a letter to his uncle, Sir Reginald Wingate, he wrote:

"I have seen Jewish Youth in the Kibbutzim, and I assure you that the Jews will produce soldiers better than ours".<sup>75</sup>

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(75). Ibid., p.489

Wingate had the rank of captain in the Palestine Intelligence service. In Israel to-day people often describe Wingate as one of the founders of the Army of Israel.  
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(76). From Jewish Observer and Middle East Review  
(September 27, 1963) and see also From Haven to Conquest, p. 383.

CHAPTER 1V  
THE UNITED STATES AND THE JEWS

THE AMERICAN CONNECTION:

During the eighteenth century the Jews in the New World appeared an insignificant minority of the total world population. Half or more of the total Jewish population was concentrated in Eastern Europe. The nineteenth century saw the balance slowly shifting, until by 1900 the American Jewish community found its feet firmly rooted as one of the largest and most powerful Jewish community in the world. The change came, of course through immigration and not an increase in the older, chiefly, the Sephardic stock. It came about because of the disillusion that followed the destruction of the Napoleonic reforms in Central Europe, the Jews could look to the young republic which was expanding rapidly in area and population, and which accorded them a welcome. Poet Heinrich Heine expressed it thus: "Even if all Europe should become a single prison, there is still another loophole of escape, America, and, thank God, the loophole is, after all, (1) larger than the prison!"

In 1835, Adam Gimbel, then in his eighteenth

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(1). Magnus, Outlines of Jewish History, p.205.

year, came to New Orleans from Bavaria, started as a pedlar up the valley of the Mississippi and as far as Indiana. He settled and built a store in Vincennes, Indiana. Within a period of a century his family came to own stores in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Chicago as well as the famous "Gimbel Brothers" in New York.<sup>(2)</sup>

The maltreatment of Jews of Damascus in 1840 for committing a ritual murder, made the Jews of New York in August that year convene a meeting call upon their Government to intervene on behalf of the Jews of Damascus to ameliorate their plight. The President, gladly acceding to their appeal, made what protests he could to the Turkish Government. Nearly twenty years later, an organization named "Board of Delegates of American Israelites"<sup>(3)</sup> that watched over Jewish needs all over the world. It took its place beside the English Board of Deputies and the French Alliance which had already proved their worth.

The year 1848 was a year of unsuccessful revolutions in Central Europe when reaction was again in the saddle several thousand Germans and Austrians,

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(2). Ibid., p.206

(3). Ibid., p.205

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together with Jews from those countries, set out to re-make their lives in America. German Jews soon came to outdistance the older Jewish settlers in numbers and prosperity, and became the leaders of American Jewry in the nineteenth century.

The movement for reform was in the air in Germany when the emigration of German Jews to America began, but it was members of an old established community who first formulated their desire for change. A schism occurred, and a reform congregation was established in 1840. In 1845 the Emmanuel Congregation of New York was founded with the avowed intention of using a changed order of service.<sup>(4)</sup>

The following year, Isaac Mayer Wise, a young Rabbi trained in the German Reform movement, arrived in America - there was no synagogue organisation - he tried to get all the different movements, orthodox, and reform, to come together on a simple common platform for the development of American Judaism. He succeeded in bringing a number of rabbis of all colours together and he had to be content with one organization, the "Union of American Hebrew Congregations" in which

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(4). Ibid., p. 207

the more conservative and orthodox would not take part. With this organisation behind him he laid the foundation of advanced religious education by the establishment in 1875 of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, of whose congregation Wise had been rabbi since 1854. The choice of Cincinnati was timely, for it was a city which owed its origin to the immigration of German settlers, and it was German Jews who formed its Jewish citizens. (5)

The mass migration from Central Europe included a large number of German Jews. The Ashkenazi Jews appeared on the American scene long before the German migration of the nineteenth century, from the early eighteenth century on, in fact, they outnumbered the original Sephardic community. (6)

The number of the Jewish immigrants from Central Europe during 1830-60 may have been as high as 200,000. This inflow, together with natural increase, raised the total Jewish population of America to 300,000 in 1870. (7) From 1881 to 1894, the number of Jewish emigrants rose to 450,000 for a yearly average

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(5). Ibid., p.207

(6). Sachar, The Course of Modern Jewish History, p.166

(7). Ibid., p.168



of nearly 23,000, making the United States host a large number of immigrants than any other land. During this period some 135,000 Russian Jews entered America. In the quarter-century until the first World War approximately 1,341,000 flooded America and more were still to come.

The movement seemed unending; in the early post-war era, the number of the Jews moving westward averaged a quarter of a million a year! From 1881 to 1930 approximately as many as four million Jews migrated from Eastern Europe to the United States, South America, the British Empire, and Western Europe. It was the most far-reaching and significant transplantation in Jewish history.<sup>(8)</sup>

In 1893, under the leadership of the German-Jewish group, the National Council of Jewish Women was created to protect immigrant Jewish girls from the predatory white slavers who awaited them on the docks. Some years later similar other agencies were also created to provide additional service.

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(8). Ibid., p. 310

The great migration made its deepest impact on the American Jewish community, whose number by 1933, soared to four and a half million in the world Jewish population of fifteen and a half million. The percentage of East European Jewry sank from 75% to 46%. The United States and other overseas countries had only 3.8 per cent of World Jewry in 1880, which now had gone up to approximately 30 per cent.<sup>(9)</sup>

The British government looked to the United States for diplomatic support in Palestine and with moral and financial backing of Britain's position in Palestine. The United States had already gone far enough in extending its area of influence to the Middle East. It had invested millions of dollars in<sup>(10)</sup> air and military repair bases in Saudi Arabia, possessed still vital commercial oil interests in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Bahrain, and it was even then<sup>(11)</sup> planning a huge pipe-line system from the Arabian Peninsula to the Mediterranean Sea. The Joint Chiefs

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(9). Ibid., pp.314-315

(10). Ibid., p.370

(11). Ibid., p.470

of Staff, Secretary of Defence Forrestal, the Near Eastern experts in the State Department, all felt that the American strategic and commercial interests would be placed in serious jeopardy by a pro-Zionist policy. Their sentiments were echoed, with rather less disinterest, by James Terry Duce, Vice President of the American Protestant missionaries stationed in Beirut and Cairo, and by the Anglophiles who dominated the Washington social scene.

However, the United States could not resist the pressures brought to bear upon it by a multitude of factors that shaped its policy for a considerable period of time to come. The rise of Nazism, the destruction of European Jewry, the plight of the Displaced Persons, soon transferred a vague feeling of solicitude into a passionate Zionist activism. The membership in the American Zionist Organization shot up from 100,000 families in 1939, to 400,000 in 1945.<sup>12</sup> The Jewish people from all corners of America willingly followed the directives of their Zionist or Hadassah Presidents importuning their Congressmen to support the Zionist cause. "This pressure was effective enough

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(12). Ibid., p.471

to elicit pro-Zionist resolutions from the national conventions of both political parties during the 1944 elections - as well as annual letters of friendship and encouragement to the American Zionist Organization and Hadassah from Franklin Roosevelt." (13)

When Truman assumed the Presidency on April 12, 1945, (14) he was deeply influenced by a number of Jewish leaders like Herbert Lehman, (15) Governor of New York, a political friend and confidant of both Truman and Roosevelt, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt (16), Colonel Jacob Arvey, (17) Chairman of Cook County's (Chicago's) powerful Democratic Committee, David K. Niles, (18) Truman's Special Assistant for Minority Affairs (who most effectively transmitted to the President the full fervour of American pro-Zionist sentiment), (19) Edward Jacobson, a pro-Zionist close to Truman and a personal friend of his who begged him not to close his heart for the Palestine

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(13). Ibid., p.471

(14). Christopher Sykes, Cross Roads to Israel, p.326

(15). Lillienthal, What Price Israel? pp.35, 44.

(16). Ibid., p.46. She urged a luncheon meeting of the Women's Division of the United Jewish Appeal to tell Congress what to do on Palestine.

(17). Sachar, (fn.6), p.471

(18). Lillienthal (fn.15), p.70

(19). Sachar, (fn.6), p.471

Partition Plan - all of them had won the trust and confidence of Truman.

That Truman never wavered in his essential sympathy for the Zionist aspirations is abundantly clear (20) from what he wrote in his biography later:

"I had carefully read the Balfour Declaration, in which Great Britain was committed to a homeland for the Jews. I had familiarised myself with the history of the question of a Jewish homeland and the position of the British and the Arabs. I was skeptical, as I read over the whole record up to date, about some of the views and attitudes assumed by the "triped-pants boys" in the State Department. It was my feeling that it would be possible for us to watch out for the long-range interests of our country while at the same time helping these unfortunate victims of persecution to find a home".

Few can doubt that the Middle East has come to occupy a significant position in world affairs for it is an area of major strategic importance on account of its oil, its space, and its utility

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(20). Ibid., pp.471-72

in transportation and communications among European, Asian and African countries.<sup>(21)</sup>

During World War II, the position of the United States changed in two respects. Not only that the private interests of American citizens became much more intense but the U.S. economic and strategic interests in the area assumed obvious and increased importance. A national Middle East policy became for the first time an imperative for the United States, even as it was confronted with a situation in which normal bilateral diplomatic-political state relations were difficult to maintain, let alone strengthen or improve (for it was produced largely by conflicts indigenous to the region - the question of Israel and America's economic and military support of it being the knottiest of them all.<sup>(22)</sup>

Nevertheless, American support for Zionism grew more and more official in character, committing not merely groups of American citizens but the government

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(21). P.J. Vatikiotis, Conflict in the Middle East (London, 1971), p.122.

(22). Ibid.

(23)  
as well. This support to Zionism did no longer remain humanitarian alone but clearly assumed the character of political aid to the Jewish people. The U.S. Government ultimately supported the partition of Palestine and the creation of a Jewish state.

Truly speaking, the United States had connections with the Middle East in general and Palestine in particular that can be traced back to at least the past one century. She had few interests, just a few years before the problem came up in the United Nations. The activities of the American Government in connection with these interests were aimed directly or indirectly at achieving its own interests. The American consuls provided protection to large numbers of Jerusalem Jews under the capitulations system, and American representatives in Constantinople fought to do away with discriminatory laws against Jews because they affected the few hundred American Jews then residing in Palestine. In the course of the War, American naval vessels helped evacuate Palestinian Jews expelled by the Turks from Jaffa to Alexandria, and were commissioned to transport

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(23). Kermet Roosevelt, "The Partition of Palestine: a lesson in Pressure Politics", Middle East Journal 2(1), 1948:1-13.

food, petrol, medicines, money, and other relief supplied to the Jews of the Holy Land, cut off from their sources of aid in the rest of the world by the British blockade and abandoned to their fate by the Turks.<sup>(24)</sup>

The nature of these connections and involvement, however, began to change gradually. An abrupt change came after the end of World War I. Although America had not declared war against Turkey, it became concerned with the political future of the area as part of the general peace settlement. As early as October 1917, President Wilson, under the influence of his Zionist friend and adviser Louis D. Brandies, had conveyed to the British government his support for one of the last drafts of the Balfour Declaration, unknowingly helping its advocates in Britain<sup>(25)</sup> to overcome the last obstacles on their way. At last President Wilson under the influence of the Jewish leaders reaffirmed his support of the Balfour Declaration

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(24). Safran, The United States and Israel, p.36.

(25). Ibid., p.37



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in "strong and unequivocal terms" , but his initial casual involvement, his subjection to opposing pressures, his vacillation and final commitment, were remarkable preview of what was to happen on a grand scale with President Truman thirty years later.<sup>(27)</sup>

In 1920, American oil concerns had appealed to their Government to secure for them equal opportunity in the Middle Eastern countries under the control of the British and the French.

In 1922, by a Joint Resolution, the U.S. Congress proclaimed "That the United States of America favours the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people without prejudicing the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected."<sup>(28)</sup>

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(26). Ibid

(27). Ibid.

(28). ESCO Foundation for Palestine, Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies , Vol. 1, p.252.

The United States also concluded a convention with Great Britain concerning Palestine in December 1924, but its purpose was to assure to American citizens the same rights in Palestine as those granted to (29) nationals of states belonging to the League of Nations. It was clear that the Government of the United States did not consider Zionism hardly anything more than a private enterprise. But this stance did not last beyond the intervening period of the two world wars. Britain at the same time was strong in the Middle East, and so long as the political Zionist leaders remained with the English Jews, all that the Zionists required from the United States was "financial assistance." (30) from the private individuals and resolutions of support from the Government.

In 1939, a change in the British policy came (31) about which found expression in their White Paper that

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(29). See Department of State, Mandate for Palestine, (Washington, 1931).

(30). See Roosevelt (fn.23), See also From Haven to Conquest (Beirut, 1971), p.516.

(31). On White Paper of 1939 see Barbour, Neville, pp.461-75.

placed a definite limit upon Jewish immigration into Palestine, and seriously restricting the land purchase programme of the Zionists already there.<sup>(32)</sup> The Zionists wanted the United States to bring some pressure to bear upon the British as they considered the policy of the latter as weak-kneed. Some of them, as a result, turned to Russia but the majority still hoped that it was only the United States that could deliver goods for them.

Ben Gurion in his capacity as the Chairman of the Zionist Executive, visited the United States in 1940, and sought to impress on the Zionist Organization of America the urgency of political campaigning, of formulating a political programme and mobilizing American Jewry to achieve its ends.

The Ben Gurion Plan was based on three points:

1. Opposition to the policy of the White Paper;
2. The formation of a Jewish army; and
3. The conversion of Palestine into a Jewish commonwealth after the War.<sup>(33)</sup>

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(32). Great Britain, Palestine: Statement of Policy, Cmd. 6019 (1939)

(33). Ben Gurion, Israel: Years of Challenge, p.18.

In May 1942, a Congress of the American Zionists unanimously endorsed the proposals, under the title of the Baltimore Programme which called for Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth at the end of the War, with the control of immigration in the hands of the Jewish Agency.<sup>(34)</sup>

After the end of the War in Europe, the Zionist leaders requested the immediate acceptance by the British Government of the full Baltimore programme.<sup>(35)</sup>

A protocol of 1943 establishing the Arab League<sup>(36)</sup> consisting of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, and Yemen, outlined their attitude towards Palestine, declaring their support for the achievement of the legitimate aims and the protection of the just rights of the Palestine Arabs. The British Labour Party came into power and realized Britain's vital interests in the Arab world. The Labour Government gained the co-operation of the United States of America in reaching and

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(34). Samuel Katz, Days of Fire (London, 1968), p. 58. See also Ben Gurion, Israel: Years of Challenge, p. 18. See also Lilienthal, What Price Israel?

(35). See The Arab-Israel Conflict (New Delhi, 1967), p. 6.

(36). Lilienthal, What Price Israel?, pp. 131, 151; See also the Arab-Israel Conflict (fn. 35), pp. 6/7.

out a jointly agreed policy for Palestine, if possible, one acceptable to both the Arabs as well as the Jews. The Zionists, thereupon, embarked on a Jewish Resistance Movement. Following British counter-measures, the Jewish Agency modified the Baltimore Programme in favour of "a viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine." The British, having failed to bring about a compromise between the Jews and the Arabs, resolved to refer the Palestine problem to the United Nations.

It may not be out of place here to discuss briefly and mention some of the dissenting groups among the Zionists, e.g., the League for Arab-Jewish Rapprochement, active in fostering the bi-national concept; the Ihud, founded in Jerusalem in 1942 under the leadership of Dr. Judah Magnus and committed to the same general principle; and in the United States the American Jewish Committee, following somewhat similar lines. At the opposite end of the Zionist scale were the Revisionist extremists: the New Zionist Organization and the Jewish State Party, both advocating the establishment of a Jewish state comprising Transjordan as well as Palestine. Opposition to a Jewish Commonwealth, as outlined in the Baltimore Programme, came also from

anti-Zionist groups, notably the American Council for Judaism, which has consistently repudiated the concept of a Jewish political state in its entirety. (37)

#### THE BILTMORE PROGRAMME

The White Paper of 1939 had excited the Jews. They called a general strike for the day following the publication of the White Paper. Looting of the Arab shops, sheeting of a British Police constable took place during the one-day strike. The Arabs also rejected the White Paper because they insisted on independence for Palestine as an Arab State. The Zionists lodged a strong protest against these measures.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, the United States of America already a home for 5000,000 Jews by then, became the centre of World Zionist activity, where the Zionists found wide sympathy and support. (38)

Some time later, during a visit of the United States of America by David Ben-Gurion, Chairman

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(37). Roosevelt (fn.23).

(38). Lakhanpal, Documents and Notes on the Arab-Israeli Question, p.149

of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, Zionist policy was reformulated..

An extraordinary Conference was held at Biltmore Hotel, in New York, from the 9th to 11th of May 1942, and was attended by six hundred American Zionists and sixty-seven visiting Zionists including members of the Jewish Executive Agency. Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion were also present at the Conference. The Declaration of the Conference has since come to be known as the Biltmore Declaration.

The Biltmore formula, subsequently adopted in substance by the great majority of Jews, Zionist and officially non-Zionist alike,<sup>(39)</sup> was in many ways the kind of definition of the aim of sovereignty long demanded by Revisionists. The Revisionists took it as such, and rejoined the World Zionist Organization they had formed in 1935.<sup>(40)</sup> Yet the seeming general acceptance of a Revisionist formula, forced by the trend

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(39). Samuel Halperin, The Political World of American Zionism ( ,1961).

(40). Vlavianos and Gross, Struggle for Tomorrow, pp.88-90, 93.

of events in 1942, actually veiled continuing sharp differences among the Zionists on the practical attitudes to be taken regarding Jewish sovereignty in Palestine after the War.<sup>(41)</sup>

The Biltmore Programme, denouncing the 1939 White Paper in Winston Churchill's words as "a breach and a repudiation of the Balfour Declaration", called for fulfilling the underlying purpose of the Mandate for Palestine. That purpose it declared to be to establish Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth.<sup>(42)</sup> The Conference demanded that full powers to achieve this aim be delegated to the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The Agency was to be authorized not only "to direct and regulate immigration into Palestine", but "to develop to the maximum the agricultural and industrial possibilities and the natural resources of the country, and to utilize its uncultivated and unoccupied lands for Jewish colonization and for the benefit of the country as a whole".

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(41). Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State, p.39.

(42). Ibid., pp.39-40.



The text of the Conference reads thus:

"1. American Zionists assembled in this extraordinary conference reaffirm their unequivocal devotion to the cause of democratic freedom and international justice to which the people of the United States, allied with the other United Nations, have dedicated themselves, and give expression to their faith in the ultimate victory of humanity and justice over lawlessness and brute force.

"2. This Conference offers a message of hope and encouragement to their fellow-Jews in the Ghettos and concentration camps of Hitler dominated Europe and prays that their house of liberation may not be far distant.

"3. The Conference sends its warmest greetings to the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem to the Va'ad Leumi, and to the whole Yishuv Palestine, and expresses its profound admiration for their steadfastness and achievements in the face of peril and great difficulties. The Jewish men and women in field and factory and the thousands of Jewish soldiers in Palestine in the Near East, who have acquitted

themselves with honour and distinction in Greece, Ethiopia, Syria, Libya, and on other battlefields, have shown themselves worthy of their people and ready to assume the rights and responsibilities of nationhood.

"4. In our generation and in particular in the course of the past twenty years, the Jewish people have awakened and transformed their ancient homeland; from 50,000 at the end of the last War their numbers have increased to more than 500,000. They have made the waste places to bear fruit and the desert blossom. Their pioneering achievements in agriculture and in industry embodying new patterns of co-operative endeavour, have written a notable page in the history of colonization.

"5. In the new values thus created, their Arab neighbours in Palestine have shared. The Jewish people in its own work of national redemption welcomes the economic, agricultural and national development of the Arab peoples and states, the Conference reaffirms

the stand previous adopted at Congresses of the World Zionist Organization, expressing the readiness and desire of the Jewish people for full co-operation with their Arab neighbours.

"6. The Conference calls for the fulfilment of the original purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate which "recognizing the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, "was to afford them the opportunity as stated by President Wilson, to found there a Jewish Commonwealth.

The Conference affirms its unalterable rejection of the White Paper of May 1939 and denies its moral or legal validity; the White Paper, seeks to limit and in fact to nullify Jewish rights to immigration and settlement in Palestine and, as stated by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons in May 1939, "Constitutes a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration." The policy of the White Paper is cruel and indefensible in its denial of sanctuary to Jews fleeing from Nazi persecution; and at a time when Palestine has become a focal point in the war front of the United Nations, and Palestine Jewry must

provide all available manpower for farm and factory and camp, it is in indirect conflict with the interests of the Allied War effort.

"7. In the struggle against the forces of aggression and tyranny, of which Jews were the earliest victims, and which now menace the Jewish National Home, recognition must be given to the right of the Jews of Palestine to play their full part in the war effort and in the defence of their country, through a Jewish military for fighting under its own flag and under the high command of the United Nations.

"8. The Conference declares that the new world order that will follow victory cannot be established on foundations of peace, justice and equality unless the problem of Jewish homelessness is finally solved.

The Conference urges that the gates of Palestine be opened; that the Jewish Agency be vested with the control of immigration into Palestine and with necessary authority for up-building the country, including the development of its unoccupied and un-cultivated lands' and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world.

Then and only then will be age-old wrong to the Jewish people be righted."

When the War ended, masses of Jews, whose survival the Conference prayed for, would be rapidly resettled in Palestine by the Jewish Agency. After a Jewish majority had been established in the country, the Jewish Commonwealth would take over the remaining powers still exercised by the Mandatory.<sup>(43)</sup>

The Biltmore Programme enunciated by Zionists contained certain internal contradictions, for it implicitly assured that the Mandatory was opposed to its demands. It was obviously out of lack of confidence in the Mandatory's willingness to be responsible for turning Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth that the Conference demanded the necessary powers to enable the Jewish Agency to do this. Those who drafted this demand were not so naive as to suppose that the Mandatory, who was unwilling to be directly responsible for making Palestine a Jewish State, would be easily induced to let the Jewish Agency do it, while itself exercising authority in Palestine solely to keep order

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(43). Halpern, (fn.41), p.40.

(44)  
against Arab resistance. They knew too well that,  
in fact, the set policy of Britain was to write off  
its obligations to the Jews through the White Paper  
and to use its authority to subdue Jewish resistance. (45)

Therefore, a crucial question of tactics  
arose: how did the Zionist leaders propose, in practice,  
to achieve the Biltmore aim? The Biltmore formula merely  
defined a "maximum objective" upon which there was  
substantial agreement. Under the cover of its general  
formulae there were differences grounded in ideology  
regarding the tactics to be used in accomplishing the  
Biltmore objectives, or regarding alternative "minimum  
objectives" that might be resorted to. (46) Broadly  
speaking there was a fourfold division on the question  
of alternatives to the Jewish Commonwealth:

There were those Zionists who opposed this  
formula outright, and stood for some kind of binational  
Jewish-Arab State in Palestine; there were those,  
on the other hand, who insisted that not simply Palestine -  
but Palestine on both sides of the Jordan must be estab-

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(45). Ibid.

(46). Ibid., pp. 40, 41.

lished as a Jewish State; there were those who on no account would agree to set up the Jewish state in anything less than the whole of Palestine west of Jordan; and finally, there were those (and they turned out to be the bulk of the Zionists) who were prepared, it seemed essential on behalf of other national aims, to set up the Jewish state in part of Palestine.<sup>(47)</sup>

Each group of those fourfold divisions, found itself further confused by problems concerning the tactics to be adopted in achieving its goal. For, none of the four types of the Zionist aims regarding sovereignty was likely to be realized if the policy in force at the time went unopposed.

Another contradiction in the Zionist Biltmore programme, was implicit in demanding, on the basis of the Balfour Declaration, that an area named "Palestine" be established as a Jewish Commonwealth. What was referred to as "Palestine" in the Biltmore programme did not include the whole area to which the Balfour Declaration was originally intended

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(47). Ibid., p.41

to apply. It included only Palestine west of the Jordan, for in 1922 the Zionist movement had felt forced to acquiesce in Winston Churchill's decision to set up Transjordan as a separate emirate and "postpone or withhold" the application of the Jewish national home clauses to "the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine. <sup>(48)</sup> Moreover, the possibility that a Jewish state might have to be established in only part of the remainder of Palestine, west of the Jordan, was undoubtedly present in the minds of those who framed the Biltmore Programme. The twentieth Zionist Congress, in a resolution concerning the Royal Commission Report of 1937, expressed the same contradiction quite explicitly. In a paragraph it took note of the finding of the Palestine Royal Commission "that the field in which the Jewish National Home was to be established was understood, at the time of the Balfour Declaration to be the whole of historic Palestine, including Transjordan". In another paragraph it empowered the Executive to negotiate with Britain in order to explore the possibilities of securing a

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(48). Weizmann, Trial and Error, p.360.



more favourable partition of Palestine west of the Jordan than the one proposed by the Royal Commission.<sup>(49)</sup>

Within a year or two, some of the important Jewish organizations in America, including the B'nai B'rith Organization, the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Labour Committee, and the American Jewish Congress<sup>(50)</sup> had also approved the Programme.

The second World War ended, and Britain had neither the capacity nor the wish to exercise the Mandate as it should have been exercised, and certainly not to establish a Jewish State in even a fragment of Palestine.<sup>(51)</sup>

Later, the British Labour Party was returned to power. The Laborites adopted far-reaching resolutions during the war in favour of the Jewish State, even presenting an extreme claim which the Jewish Agency itself had never put forward. The wholesale transplantation

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(49). ZC.XX Din v'Heshbon Stenografi, p.359ff; translation from HSCG, Palestine, 11, 854-856. See also Halpern (fn.41), p.46.

(50). Ben-Gurion, Israel: Years of Challenge, p.19.

(51). Ibid.

of the Arabs of the Jewish State to Arab countries. (52)

THE U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN PALESTINE

At the end of the war, the British Government had sought the participation of the USA in enforcing a British-designed solution for the problem of Palestine. What the British wanted was a joint Anglo-American scheme following as closely as possible the essential provisions of, their 1939 White Paper - that is, guaranteeing that after a final period of refugee immigration, Jews should no longer be admitted to all of Palestine in accordance with its economic absorptive capacity, but only to part of it and only with the consent of the Arabs or or some impartial referee between Jewish and Arab claims; and guaranteeing, also, that Arab predominance would be preserved in Palestine, in one way or another, while the chance of establishing an Arab state dominating the whole area would at least remain open.<sup>(53)</sup> The Americans on their part, were concerned with the Jewish refugee problem. As a concession to American demands, it was thought that, if a trusteeship were set up to replace

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(52). Ibid.

(53). Halpern (fn.41), p.361.

the Mandate temporarily, 100,000 Jewish Displaced Persons might be admitted into Palestine on Humanitarian grounds. British agreement to continue governing Palestine in spite of the change in policy involved in such a solution of the Palestine problem would depend on America's willingness - whether by a direct understanding with Britain or under a U.N. resolution - to share the responsibility and burden of imposing it on Arabs and Jews alike. (54)

The spectacular entry of the United States diplomacy into Palestine scene was one of the most significant developments at this stage. A United States resolution favouring the Zionist goals was presented and pushed through successfully in both Houses of the Congress. In February 1944 the American Congress declared, "The doors of Palestine shall be open for free entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." (55)

Thus, on 31 August 1945, President Truman addressed an appeal to the British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, asking for immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. The British agreed with President Truman

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(54). J.C.Hurewitz, Struggle for Palestine, pp.274-78; See also Manuel, Realities, pp.305-331, and Halpern (fn.41)p.361

and decided to go ahead with their plans in Palestine.

The British Prime Minister Attlee, made it plain that Britain would not make any gesture of humanitarianism until it was satisfied on its political demands from the Zionists - abandon resistance - and from America - to agree to, and to help enforce, not only the immediate recommendations of the Committee, but also the long-range proposals for a trusteeship and a non-Jewish, non-Arab Palestinian State.<sup>(56)</sup>

Afterwards, as was usually true in the history of American policy in regard to Zionism - Washington spoke with two voices and was concerned with two different sets of political considerations. In order to ensure Anglo-American co-operation in a strategy for the Middle East, an American Cabinet Committee was appointed to negotiate with a similar British Committee concerning a joint following upon the Inquiry Committee's investigation. Since America was unwilling to assume military as well as financial responsibility in Palestine, the American negotiators had little bargain-

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(56). Hurewitz, (fn.54), p.249

ing power, and the "Joint Plan" - the so-called Morrison-Gradly Plan - turned out to be a modified version of the White Paper policy.<sup>(57)</sup>

In the spring of 1946 a mixed Anglo-American Commission was sent to Palestine to examine the status of the Jews in the former Axis-occupied countries and all related matters.

Having completed its task on 20 April 1946, the Committee presented a unanimous report with three major recommendations:

- (a) that the government of Palestine be continued as at present under Mandate pending the execution of a trusteeship agreement under the United Nations;
- (b) that the immediate admission into Palestine of 100,000 Jewish immigrants who have been the victims of Nazi and fascist persecution be allowed.
- (c) that the land transfer limitation be rescinded.<sup>(58)</sup>

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(57). Ibid., pp.257-259; Halpern (fn.40), p.346.

(58). For full text of the Report see New York Times, May 1, 1946.

The United States and Great Britain neither accepted nor rejected these recommendations. Britain's position was slowly becoming untenable. Subjected to official American pressure, at odds with the Zionists and with the Arabs and facing growing disorders in the Mandated territory, the British Government decided to take the question of Palestine before the United Nations. On April 2, 1947, Britain requested the calling of a special session of the General Assembly to consider the problem. The General Assembly, which met between April 28 and May 15, set up a United Nations special committee on Palestine (UNSCOP).<sup>(59)</sup> The Committee composed of eleven States, under the Chairmanship of a Swedish delegate, visited Palestine and presented a report to the regular full session of the General Assembly. These were, in fact, two reports.<sup>(60)</sup> The majority proposed to cut Palestine into three parts: an Arab State, a Jewish State and the City State of Jerusalem under an international regime.<sup>(61)</sup> The minority proposed a federal state comprising

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(59). Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, The Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

(60). The majority report was signed by the Netherlands, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Peru, Guatemala and Uruguay.

(61). The minority report was signed by India, Iran and Yugoslavia.

two autonomous Jewish and Arab units.

On November 29, 1947 the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution for the partition of Palestine into two independent Arab and Jewish states. At the same time it set up a Palestine Commission to work out the ways and means for effecting the partition.

Later the United States completely abandoned partition, urging that efforts to put it into effect be suspended and a temporary U.N. trusteeship be resorted to. For such a solution Palestine, it was suggested, some American forces might even be available. But the prospect of enforcing a trusteeship against the combined opposition of Jews and Arabs was even less appealing to the U.N. consensus than of seeking to enforce partition; nor did Britain show any signs of reversing its position and agreeing to stay in Palestine in response to the American reversal.<sup>(62)</sup>

The Arab states challenged the resolution's binding validity from a legal point of view. They argued that, according to the United Nations Charter, the Assembly did not possess the right of binding

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(62). Halpern, (fn.41), p.375

decision but only of recommendation. Consequently, they assumed an attitude of non-cooperation. More forthrightly the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine on 6 February 1948, stated that "any attempt by the Jewish state in Arab territory is an act of oppression which will be resisted in self-defence (63) by force."

On May 14, 1948, the British officially terminated their Mandate over Palestine, and withdrew their last forces both at the military and at administrative levels from the country. On the same day, at 10 a.m. Eastern Standard Time, "The National Council at a session in Tel-Aviv proclaimed the Jewish state of Israel. A few hours later, President Truman extended de facto recognition to this new state on behalf of the United States. (64)

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(63). Robert E. Sherwood, Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History (New York, 1948), pp. 871-872.

(64). Lenczowski, The Middle East in World Affairs, 2nd ed., p. 337.



TABLE - 1

VOLUME OF JEWISH MIGRATION OVERSEAS AND CHANGES IN THE DISTRIBUTION  
OF THE JEWS OF THE WORLD\*

Years .	United States and Canada	Argentina & Brazil	American Count-	Palestine	Others	Total
1840-1900	890,000	28,000	2,000	35,000	30,000	985,000
1901-1925	1823,000	149,000	19,000	76,000	52,000	2119,000
1926-1939	1731,000	107,000	58,000	233,000	83,000	6541,000
TOTAL	2886,000	284,000	79,000	344,000	165,000	3758,000

\* From Mark W. Schmitzer, To Dwell in Safety (Jewish Publication Society); See also Sachar, Howard, The Course of Modern Jewish History, p. 314

CHAPTER - V

**THE PALESTINE PROBLEM BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS - THE RESOLUTION ON PARTITION OF PALESTINE: AMERICAN AND ZIONIST PRESSURES**

The history of the Middle East conflict goes back to well over half a century and more specially to 1948 the year the British terminated their mandate in Palestine. It was the Balfour Declaration of 1917 which sowed the seeds of perennial enmity between the Arabs and Jews - the communities which had learnt to live together in peace and amity for centuries past. One of the factors that rendered the situation more complex and averse to a solution were the mutually contradictory promises that the big powers of the day held out to the parties involved.

All this had its spill-over on the international scene, so much so that the problem seems to be going farther and still farther away with the passage of time. Today, it is by far the most complex and vital problem that the world body is called upon to disentangle. Its human aspect is the amelioration of the plight of a huge mass of refugees deprived of their homes and hearths, while its political aspect is the threat it poses to world peace

and security which has been endangered repeatedly in the past and is again take the world to the brink of a disaster.

In all fairness to the United Nations, the body has attempted to do what it could do diffuse the situation and bring peace to the tormented land, through protracted negotiations in the General Assembly and in the Security Council over more than a quarter of a century. From the Partition Plan for Palestine adopted by the General Assembly in 1947 until the Security Council resolution of 1967 affirming the need to "establish" a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, the United Nations has made persistent efforts to resolve the dangerous conflict in the area.

However, the big-power rivalry in the area has awkwardly enough placed the credibility of the U.N. at stake.

Were it not for their own narrow ends that the Big powers pursued treating the United Nations as their plaything and exploiting the forum of this

August World Body, its authority and credibility would not stand so awkwardly eroded as it does today.

The role of the U.N. in the Arab Israeli conflict began with the frustration of the British Government's plan for the future set up of Palestine in 1947 at the hands of the Zionists.

It was on February 14, 1947, that Aneurin Bevin terminated the Conference proceedings with the announcement - the momentous announcement, as it turned out to be - that Britain had decided to refer the entire Palestine problem to the United Nations. The cost of supporting one hundred thousand British soldiers in Palestine and the even more incalculable loss of a running battle with American and world opinion, could no longer be borne. It was Bevin's final admission of failure.<sup>(1)</sup>

Bevin's failure, along with those of his predecessors, can be interpreted as a "Failure of communication". He and the Jewish leaders could never

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(1). Sachar, The Course of Modern Jewish History, p.473.

see eye to eye on the problem of Palestine.

A special session of the General Assembly was called in April at the request of the British Government to "place the question of Palestine on the agenda of the General Assembly at its next regular Annual Session and summon a special session to constitute and instruct a special committee to prepare for the consideration of the question by the regular session."

The subject was deliberated at two sessions of the General Assembly which appointed the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) to consider the problem.

The UNSCOP submitted to the General Assembly two plans, a majority plan and a minority plan. <sup>(2)</sup> The former proposed termination of the mandate and partition of Palestine into two states, an Arab State and a Jewish State, with economic union between them, and a corpus separatum for the city of Jerusalem under an international regime to be administered by the U.N.<sup>+</sup> The minority plan did not differ with

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(2). U.N. Document A/364, 3 September 1947.

+ See Appendix No.1, p.

with the majority plan in as much as it also recommended the termination of the mandate, but it proposed the establishment of a federal State comprising an Arab State as well as a Jewish State with Jerusalem as the capital.<sup>(3)</sup>

The conditions which the UNSCOP discovered in Palestine were much the same as the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry had found through the year which followed the latter's investigation and rendered the situation even more distressing. UNSCOP assessed the situation as such.

"The atmosphere in Palestine today is one of profound tension. In many respects the country is living under a semi-military regime. In the streets of Jerusalem and other key areas barbed wire defences, road blocks, machine gun posts and constant armoured car patrols are routine measures. In areas of doubtful security Administration officials and the military forces

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(3). Henry Cattan, Palestine and International Law: The Legal Aspects (Longman, London, 1973), p.

live within strictly policed security zones and work within fortified and closely guarded buildings.

Freedom of personal movement is liable to be severely restricted and the curfew and martial law have become not an uncommon experience.<sup>(4)</sup>

The Arabs rejected the partition proposal as they argued that it violated their rights and was incompatible with law and justice and with the principles of democracy. They also held that the U.N. was not competent to recommend the partition of their homeland into two states and thus to destroy its territorial integrity.

Before the resolution was finally adopted by the Plenary session of the General Assembly, a vigorous debate took place in the first Committee between protagonists of the Arab and Jewish points of view on the operation. Representatives of the Jewish Agency and Arab High Committee of Palestine were also

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(4). The United Nations General Assembly, O.R., A/364, pp.8-9.

afforded an opportunity to place their views on record. Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia made an unsuccessful attempt to have "the termination of the Ma<sup>n</sup>date over Palestine and the declaration of its independence", placed on the agenda.<sup>(5)</sup>

But all delegates agreed that independence for Palestine was the ultimate objective. The Arab representatives, however, stressed that independence was the real issue, all that was necessary was to apply the principles of the Charter and declare Palestine as an independent democratic State. The only proper way, in their view, to make the General Assembly become seized of the issue, was to notify the termination of the Mandate and submit a draft Trusteeship Agreement preparatory to Palestine's emergence as a sovereign State.

The USSR Representative expressed the view in the General Assembly that the task of the UNSCOP was "to reconcile the Lawful interests of Arabs and Jews in Palestine, if possible by the creation of a single Arab-Jewish State with equal rights for Arabs and Jews, and if not, by two separate States, one Arab

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(5). Lakhanpal, Documents and Notes on the Arab-Israeli Question, p.170.



and one Jewish". This marked a shift in the earlier policy of the Soviet Union and the Palestine Communist Party favouring the creation of an Arab State of Palestine. Ivon wanted that no instructions be issued by Governments to members of the Committee. (6)

Meanwhile the other side resorted to intense lobbying, canvassing and pressurizing to secure a UN vote in favour of partition.

In Palestine the war between the British Army and the Jewish terrorists ~~was~~ continuing unabated. In the meantime, the threatened reprisal and the death sentences were carried out. On July 27, 1947, the three Iraqi members were executed; four days later the two British hostages were found hanging from a tree, their bodies badly trapped. When an officer arrived to cut down the bodies, a booby-trap exploded, wounding the officer and destroying a body. (7) This incident received wide publicity and a feeling against the terrorists. (8) Another affairs, that of the Exodus

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(6) Ibid., p.171

(7). New York Herald Tribune, August, 1947

(8). C.F.p.67 for the reaction on British feelings.

1947, which was drawn but over two months and followed constantly by reports in the Press evoking compassion, stirred deep resentment in Palestine. (9)

In August, 1947, the UNSCOP members unanimously approved the following eleven recommendations and adopted a twelfth with two abstentions. (10)

1. The Mandate for Palestine should be terminated at the earliest practicable date.
2. Independence should be granted in Palestine at the earliest practicable date.
3. A short transitional period should precede the granting of independence.
4. During the transitional period, the authority entrusted with the task of administering Palestine and preparing it for independence should be responsible to the United Nations.
5. In any solution adopted, provisions should be made for the protection of religious rights and for safeguards to the Holy Places.
6. The General Assembly should undertake steps whereby the distressed European Jews, of whom approximately 250,000 are in assembly centers, will be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency for the alleviation of their plight and the Palestine problem.

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(9). New York Herald Tribune, July 19-21, 31 and August 22, 1947 & see also New York Times, July 10, 10-21, Aug. 22, 1947.

(10). UNGAOR, A.1364, pp.105-121.

7. The United Nations should ensure that the Constitution of the new State or States in Palestine is basically democratic.
8. The Constitution of the new State or States should provide for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means and should accept the obligation to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations.
9. The preservation of economic unity should be accepted as a cardinal principle in any solution to the Palestine question.
10. Extra-territorial rights in Palestine should be announced by all States holding them.
11. The General Assembly should call on the peoples of Palestine to extend their fullest cooperation to the United Nations in its effort to provide a solution to the Palestine problem.
12. In the appraisal of the Palestine question, it should be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general.

UNSCOP need present a majority plan for partition with economic union, agreed to by the delegates of Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, Netherlands, Peru, Sweden and Uruguay and a minority plan for a Federal State for Palestine agreed by the delegates of India,

(11)  
Iran and Yugoslavia. The majority plan was drawn up on the promise that the claims of the Arabs and Jews to Palestine were irreconcilable and political separation was necessary but in view of the limited area and resources of Palestine, economic unity should be preserved. (12)  
The minority plan on the other hand was developed because its proponents felt that partition was impracticable, unworkable and anti-Arab; a federal state solution would better serve the interests of both Arabs and Jews in maintaining the political and economic unity indispensable to the life and development of the country. (13)

A majority of the Committee recommended partition and the establishment of independent Jewish and Arab States, to be joined in an economic union, and internationalization of Jerusalem. This partition would follow a transitional period of two years -

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(11). The Australian member voted for neither Plan on the ground that the Committee, according to its terms of reference, should confine its work to reporting, recording and fact-finding and that political decisions should be left to the General Assembly (U.N.) G.A. Vol.11, Appendix 1, p.23).

(12). UNGAOR, 2nd Session, Sept. 11, A/364, pp.122-124.

(13). Ibid., pp.147-150.

beginning September 1, 1947 under the administration of the present Mandatory Power working under the auspices of the United Nations.

As a result the UN General Assembly on 29 November, 1947, by a vote of 33 to 13 with 10 abstentions, such as the Arabs resented and resisted, the result came out in the form of a resolution for the partition of Palestine retaining the fundamentals of the majority plan.<sup>(14)</sup>

The partition resolution sought to divide Palestine as follows:-

- i) To the Jewish State it gave more than 56% of the total area, i.e. 5,500 sq.miles more than ~~then~~ times what the Jews owned in land property.
- ii) To the Arab State was given only 42% of the whole country, although the Arabs constituted 67.5% of the population and owned more than 94% of the total area.
- iii) 497,000 Arabs were placed under the domination of the Jewish State.
- iv) An international zone including Jerusalem

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(14). Resolution 181(11), 29 November, 1947.

was created with 6.5% of the area assigned to it.<sup>(15)</sup>

The adoption of this resolution set off a chain of protests, demonstrations, and disturbances in Palestine. The events that followed in quick succession made it impossible for the Palestine Commission (appointed by the General Assembly to implement the Partition resolution) to exercise its functions.<sup>(16)</sup>

If the Jews lent cooperation to the Commission for the implementation of the Plan as suggested by Halpern,<sup>(17)</sup> they were motivated more by an urge to consolidate their position and legalise their illegal existence rather than by any respect or honour for the verdict of the world body as has been amply borne by their attitude characterised by scant respect or regard for the latter during the past quarter of

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(15). The United Nations General Assembly 11. Sp. O.K. Suppl.1. pp.5-9.

(16). Reports of the Palestine Commission to the Security Council, S/663, S/695, S/676 and to the General Assembly, A/532.

(17). Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State, p.376

a century.

Another resolution which, if <sup>implemented</sup> ~~adopted~~ by the UN, could yield far-reaching positive results is that proposed by the 37 Arab and non-aligned nations for granting the Palestinian people the right of self-determination, sovereignty, national independence and to restore to them their rights. Preparations are to have this proposal put to vote.

Similarly the efforts of the 26 countries that come up with another resolution demanding an observer right for the P.L.O. at the U.N.O. its participation in all the conferences of U.N.O. has been accepted in the face of stiff opposition from Israel and its supporters, and Yasser Arafat, the P.L.O. leader and the spokesman of Palestinians was invited to speak from the rostrum on behalf of those whom he represented.

The text of the 1st resolution is as under:

The General Council after considering the Palestinian problem, after hearing the statements of the P.L.O. representative of the Palestine people and after hearing the other statements during the discussion

expresses her great dissatisfaction, because, the Palestinian people have been deprived of their lawful rights especially the right of self-determination.

In the light of objectives and principles of the U.N.O. Charter it reasserts its earlier resolutions which reiterate the right of the Palestinian people for self-determination.

1. The General Council of U.N.O. asserts again the following rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine:
  - (a) Self-determination without foreign interference.
  - (b) Right of national independence and sovereignty
2. It also asserts again the lawful right of Palestinians to return to their lands and properties from where they have been expelled.
3. It also asserts that the rehabilitation of their all rights is very necessary for the solution of Palestine problem.
4. It recognizes that Palestine people are a basic party for establishing a just and permanent peace in the Middle East.



5. It recognizes also that the Palestine people have right to adopt every lawful means to regain their just rights according to the objectives and principles of the U.N.O. Charter.
6. It appears to all countries and all international Organizations to increase their assistance for the Palestinian people in their struggle to regain their rights according to the U.N.O. Charter.
7. It demands that the General Assembly of U.N.O. should contact the P.L.O. in all the matters concerning with the Palestine problem.
8. It demands the General Secretary to put a report in the General Assembly during its 30th Session about implementation of this resolution.
9. It decides to insert the Palestine problem under a separate heading in the agenda of 30th Session.<sup>(17A)</sup>

#### CEASEFIRE WITHOUT PEACE

Since the end of the fighting between the Jewish State and the Arab countries in June 1967, the

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(17A). Al-Gamhuriah, November 23, 1974.

situation in the Middle East has returned to what  
(18)  
it was before the war - "a Cease-fire" without  
peace. The prisoners were exchanged between Israel  
and Jordan; "Israel returned to Jordan the prisoners  
of war she had taken and two Israeli Air Force pilots  
who had been shot down over an Iraqi airfield were  
returned to Israel. On July 27th the prisoners were  
exchanged between Syria and Israel; and on January  
1968, the exchange of prisoners with Egypt was  
completed."

Along the Cease-fire line, there had been quite  
numerous exchange of fire, and serious clashes had  
taken place on the Suez Canal. On October 21, 1967,  
the Egyptian Navy sank the Israeli destroyer Eilat  
(1,710 tons) off the Sinai Coast.<sup>(19)</sup> A U.A.R. spokes-  
man ~~stated~~ <sup>declared</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>it</sup> had been about 11 miles  
off Port Said within Egypt's 12-mile territorial sea-  
limits, and was believed to have been on an "aggressive"  
(20)  
reconnaissance Mission. On October 26, 1967, the Israeli

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(18). Aharon Cohen, Israel and the Arab World (1970), p.539.

(19). Ibid., p.579. See also Keesing's Research Report  
'The Arab-Israeli Conflict' 'The 1967 Campaign'  
(EBO Publishing & Distributing Co.), pp.67-68.

(20). Cohen (fn.18), p.540. See Halpern (fn.17),  
pp.436-437.

artillery fired on two oil refineries in the city of Suez.

The emergency Session of the UN General Assembly opened on June 17, 1967, decided on July 21 to end its discussions, and charged the Security Council with taking care of the situation in the Middle East. In the course of the Assembly's discussions, a Soviet proposal "to blame the aggressive actions of Israel and to obligate her to immediately and unconditionally withdraw all armed forces from the territories conquered in the June fighting and to pay compensation to the Arab countries for damages suffered in the War", was rejected. The Assembly also rejected an Indian-Yugoslav proposal, as well as one by the Latin-American countries, which, even with their milder formulation, also demand Israeli withdrawal from the occupied areas. On the other hand, the Assembly decided, by a large majority of votes (ninety-nine votes with eighteen abstentions)<sup>(21)</sup> to call on Israel not to change the status of Jerusalem.

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(21). Cohen (fn.18), pp.540-41. See Haltern (fn.17), pp.436-437.

Even earlier also, (June 14, 1967) the Security Council had called upon Israel to safeguard the peace and the security of the inhabitants who had fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities.<sup>(22)</sup>

The General Assembly, on 4 July 1967, confirmed the Security Council Resolution No.237, concerning the safety of the inhabitants and the return of displaced persons.<sup>(23)</sup> On the same day the General Assembly, expressed deep concern for the measures taken by Israel to change the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem and considered the measures as null and void.<sup>(24)</sup>

THE RESOLUTION 242, NOVEMBER 22nd 1967

After protracted discussions and consultations and after several efforts both in the Security Council and the General Assembly a British-sponsored compromise

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(22). Security Council Resolution No.237(1967) of 14 June 1967. See United Nations Resolutions on Palestine 1947-1972 (The Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut), p.112.

(23). General Assembly, No.2252 of 4 July 1967.

(24). General Assembly No.2253 of 4 July 1967.

resolution was unanimously adopted by the Security Council on November 22, 1967<sup>(25)</sup> and was later known as Resolution 242. The text of the resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION 242 (1967) of 22 NOVEMBER 1967

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

(1) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from

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(25). New York Times, November 23, 1967, p.1,5 and see Halpern (fn.17).

territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(11) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for an acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

(2) Affirms further the necessity,

(a) for guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

(3) Requests the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist

efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.<sup>(26)</sup>

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE REFUGEE QUESTION:

The Arab refugee question was one of the main issues debated in the session of the General Assembly at the end of 1948 that led to the creation of the "Palestine Conciliation Commission".<sup>(27)</sup> The results of that session regarding Palestine were summed up in the Resolution 194 (111) of December 11, 1948. Paragraph 11 of the resolution dealt specifically with the Palestinian refugee problem, and defined the position of the international agreement in the following terms:

The General Assembly, having considered further

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(26). Adopted Unanimously at the 1382nd meeting.

(27). Halpern (fn.17), p.393.

(28)  
the situation in Palestine,

(11) Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible;

Instructs the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation of the refugees and the payment of compensation; and to maintain close relations with the Director of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees and through him, with the appropriate organs and Agencies of the United Nations.

There were also more than 27 resolutions

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(28). General Assembly Resolution No.194(D-3) of December 11th, 1948, See United Nations Resolutions on Palestine 1947-1972 (fn.22), pp.17-17.



assessing the rights of the Palestinian refugees,  
and reaffirm the resolution No.194 of December 11,  
1948, concerning the refugees' rights to return and  
compensation.

Israel continued stubbornly to refuse allow-  
ing the refugees to return to their homes and  
(29)  
compensating them for their lost property.

On December 10, 1964, the General Assembly:-

- Recognizing that the problem of the Palestine Arab Refugees has arisen from the denial of their inalienable rights under the Charter of the United Nations and the universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- Generally concerned that the denial of their rights has been aggravated by the reported acts of collective punishment, arbitrary detention, curfews, destruction of homes and property,
- Desirous of giving effect to its resolutions for relieving the plight of the displaced persons and the refugees,
  - 1) Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Palestine;

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(29). Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Nations Resolution, Disregarded by Israel, 1947 Dec.1964 (Cairo 14 Dec.1969) p.12.

- 2) Draws the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation resulting from Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories and Israel's refusal to implement the above resolutions;
- 3) Requests the Security Council to take effective in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to ensure<sup>(30)</sup> the implementation of these resolution. This resolution was also rejected by Israel.

The Security Council's Resolution No.89 of November 17, 1950:

The first part of this resolution dealt with the refugees (The eviction of one thousand Palestinian Arabs)

- a) Calls upon the parties to deal with this question through the Armistice Commissions.
- b) Calls upon the Governments concerned to refrain from any future action affecting the transfer of persons across international boundaries or the

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(30). General Assembly Resolution No.2535, A.B.C.(XXIV) of December 10th, 1969, See United Nations Resolutions on Palestine 1947-1972 , (fn.22).

truce lines without prior consultation through the Armistice Commission.<sup>(31)</sup>

NATURE OF ISRAEL'S REFUSAL TO IMPLEMENT THE RESOLUTION

- i) The Armistice Commission met and decided that the one thousand Palestinian Arabs should return to area from which they were evicted, but Israel did not respond to this decision.
- ii) Instead, Israel evicted more Arabs from the area of Neger.<sup>(32)</sup>

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM: THE ARAB AND ISRAELI VIEWPOINTS

(1) ISRAELI POINT OF VIEW

Israel maintained that the readmission of all the refugees was utterly unrealistic and out of question and that any decision in this regard could be taken only as a part of the over-all political settlement, which would transform the existing armistice agreements into formal peace treaties.<sup>(33)</sup>

Israel does not accept the resolutions of U.N.O. on Palestine. She thinks that the solution of this problem are the means based what it calls on certain foreign powers. Following the development of

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(31). S.C.Resolution No.89 of 17.11.1950 (See Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Nations Resolution Disregarded by Israel. 1947-1969 (fn.29), p.13.

(32). Ibid., p.13.

(33). G.Lenczowski, The Middle East in World Affairs, Second Edition (Ithaca, New York, 1956).

events that took place after the Palestine war, Israel always insisted on holding direct negotiations with her Arab neighbours to solve her differences with them and make a compromise which may result in peace and stability to Palestine. On the 1st. December, 1952 it had published a blue paper on its peace policy highlighting the following problems:

1. Peace Problem: Israel considers her armistice agreements with the Arab countries between February and August, 1949 as a basis to start the peace negotiations.
2. Boundary Problem: Israel agrees to vacate whole or a part of the occupied lands, but rejects to implement the division scheme. But does not resist to make some "demarcation lines of the four armistice treaties of 1949(34) which caused partition of some villages and reunification of the separated parts on the basis of an exchange between Arab and its occupied regions to ensure the stability of the people who live in these regions.
3. Refugee Problem: Israel holds the Arab countries responsible for the flight of these refugees on account of the war allegedly waged by them against her and, therefore, it is the Arabs who must bear the consequences of war themselves. As such she does not accept the principles of return of these refugees to their native lands, because firstly, it is not possible physically to take back all of them on account of a large contingent of Jews who, by volition or under duress have

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(34). Halpern (fn.17), p.399.

been made to immigrate from Europe and Arab countries, and secondly it would have defeated the Zionist aims.

4. Economic Aspects: Israel faced economic and monetary hardships. For, the Arab boycott and the economic barriers imposed against her by the Arabs weakened her ability to pay the compensation.<sup>35</sup> This argument is no longer tenable, since a State which can roll billions of dollars worth of arms to keep its war machine in a state of combat readiness, and has incurred a disproportionately big expenditure on account of the wars that is waged against the Arabs can not plead its inability to pay compensation to the refugees.

5. Regional Cooperation and Relations between Arabs and Jews:

Arabs and Jews may cooperate with each other by restoring the communications freedom, contributing in social and medical fields and by cultural and scientific exchange, especially in technical and assistance for over-all developments and non-hindrance of the efforts made in the way of such cooperation. Israel is very keen on an immediate accord with the Arab countries on the basis of equality and sovereignty and it is in the interest of Israel to improve her diplomatic relations with her Arab neighbours as a preliminary step for making progress and prosperity.

#### ARAB POINT OF VIEW

The Arab countries regard the refugee and Palestine problem in its entirety as an indispensable part of their own. They feel that the responsibility

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(35). Lenczowski (fn.33), p.342.

lies on their shoulder, because the Palestinians under the protection of the League of the Nations and Protectorate Powers, became scattered in many countries with whom they have no religious and sentimental ties and this ultimately led to the calamities and sufferings that became their lot and put them in the crucible of fire.

These people have no Government or central power to speak on their behalf, defend their liberties and protect their entities from both the imperial designs and religious prejudices. But now all the Arab world has stood up to speak on their behalf and defend their rights.

1. Peace Problem: Arab countries will never be at peace with Israel unless she specifies her stand vis-a-vis the resolutions of the U.N.O. adopted on Palestine. But since Israel has not honoured these resolutions, the Arab countries have not agreed to make detente with her although this has resulted in continuous Zionist expansion and complete usurpation of the Palestinians' right.
2. Boundary Problem: The Arabs demand to implement the

U.N. Resolution No.181 regarding the division plan of Palestine and start the process of taking back the refugees to the Arab regions under Israeli occupation.

3. Refugee Problem: The Arab countries agreed on the proposals of employment and rehabilitation of the refugees in their homelands. But these proposals adopted till now do not take into account more than half of the numbers of the refugees. And recommends the release of their deposits frozen in the Israeli banks as already recommended by the International Reconciliation Commission and calls upon Israel to give compensation for the assets left behind by them in the areas now under Israeli occupation.

THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE (UNEF) : A new "weapon for peace" as it was called, was created by the General Assembly in the autumn of 1956 as a result of the deliberations of a special emergency session held on 5 and 7 November 1956 to help resolve the grave crisis that confronted the Middle East because of the tripartite invasion of Egypt by the armed forces of Great Britain, France and Israel.

The UNEF, though designed as a temporary police force in response to a crisis situation has come to stay as an honest Supervisor of Peace in a strife-torn troubled situation. It proved a positive step in the United Nations preventive diplomacy as proved during the Suez Crisis of 1956 as well as on numerous other similar occasions.

The United Nations Emergency Force's practical job in the early phase of its operation was to ensure quit by mere United Nations presence. The United Nations soldiers reported upon the observation of the cease-fire, policed the Zone between the opposing forces, and guaranteed order while taking over from the Anglo-French Israeli troops, following the successive stages of their withdrawal from the Suez Canal area and the Sinai Peninsula. The British and French had wanted the Force to be stationed along the canal, after their own withdrawal and pending a settlement of the Suez question, backed by the Soviet Union. Egypt firmly opposed such a move, it would violate United Nations assurances that UNEF would not be used in any way to affect the political balance in the Middle East.



At midnight of November 6, the cease-fire was instituted, nine days later, the first Units of UNEF troops entered Port Said. Britain and French, through their delegates speaking in the Assembly on November 21 and 24 respectively, made known their willingness to withdraw their troops as soon as the United Nations Force 'becomes effective and competent to discharge its functions. Quoting (36) Mr. Pearson, the Israeli delegate asserted that there is a relationship .....between the withdrawal of the forces..... and the arrival and functioning of the United Nations Force. (37) Accordingly each invading State, despite considerable protests, made the effective (38) functioning of UNEF a prerequisite to withdrawal of their forces.

It was on 3 December that Britain and France publicly confirmed their belief that an effective police force was arriving in Egypt and in consequence, instructed their Allied Commander, General Keightely, to negotiate with the Commander of UNEF regarding a

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(36). General Assembly Official Records, 11th Session, Plenary meetings 591 (November 21, 1956) and 593 (November 24, 1956), Vol.1, pp.259 and 290.

(37). Ibid., p.275

(38). Speech by the delegate at the 11th Session, 26 November 1956- p.337.

(39)  
time table for withdrawal. Thus, between 15 November and 22 December the day when Anglo-French troops left the Suez Canal area, UNEF soldiers, operating mainly in the vicinity of Suez, were required to act as a shield between the Anglo-French and Egyptian forces through occupation of a buffer zone.

The UNEF made arrangements for and undertook supervision of the exchange between Egypt and the Anglo-French Command of hundreds of prisoners, detainees, and internees. Investigation of complaints and inquiries on the part of both the invaders and the invaded regarding matters of cease-fire violations, smuggling, and missing personnel was undertaken by the United Nations soldiers. Administration of public utilities, finance, communications, fuel and food distribution, legal affairs, safety, health and damage claims were surrendered to the Emergency Force by the withdrawing armies and turned over to the Egyptian authorities. Similar duties devolved upon the Force in the Sinai Peninsula where centred the second period of activities,

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(39). 'Note by the Secretary-General, United Nations' Doc.A/3415, 3 December 1956, General Assembly, Official Records, 11th Session (1956-57) Vol.11-111, p.28.

(40)  
from December to March 1957.

In sum, the mission of the United Nations Emergency Force was not completely clarified and the Assembly's resolution left UNEF somewhat at the mercy of time and circumstances and daily events. The Emergency Force has not played role in the definitive settlement of long standing problems in the Middle East. Nonetheless, it has by its action and its presence helped to avert further hostilities possibly even an extended war and to achieve an atmosphere of calm and quiet along the Egypt-Israel frontier. The United Nations Emergency Force remains after all, of 'Great value as a background for efforts towards resolving pending problems, although it is not in itself a means to that end.

In creating the UNEF to help effect peaceful conditions in Egypt and Israel, the General Assembly had indeed moved with vigour and imagination. The States of the United Nations were able, at a moment of acute danger, to establish a general consensus, to move along

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(40). The United Nations Doc.A/3943, pp.15-16.

the middle way the road of compromise which has not failed to lead towards success.

First in accomplishment was the realization of peace. Immediate danger of world war was averted and the invasion retained its character of an incursion - a 'Sinai Campaign'.

Although Soviet and American pressure no doubt exercised considerable influence upon the British, French and Israeli Governments to cease-fire and to withdraw, the genesis of a neutral police force, designed for the purpose of supervision, control, and representation, was of cardinal importance, UNEF represented a 'face-saving' mechanism for the parties to the conflict. It established a United Nations presence in Zones of special sensitivity in the Middle East. It undertook grave tasks at times of keenest tension. The UNEF itself, unique machinery for peace making, was a triumph for international organization. As such, the Force helped to raise the prestige of the world assembly and the authority of its Secretary-General. His 'Office' has developed into field action of so

extensive a character that wide diplomacy and security  
responsibilities seem 'naturally' to have gravitated  
(41)  
to that office.

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(41). Cohen, "The United Nations Emergency Force",  
International Journal, XI1 (Spring, 1957).

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS A MEDIATOR

The Palestine problem put the capacity of the U.N. as an international arbitrator to a severe test. It was not simply resolving the problem between Arabs and Jews. It was the delicate task to steering clear through the morass of the Big Power Conflict. Circumstances placed the United Nations to assume the role of a mediator.

A. COUNT FOLKE BERNADOTTE:

In place of the proposed United Nations Commissioner, (whose institution was rejected by both Arabs and Jews) Count Folke Bernadotte, President of the Swedish Red Cross was appointed as "mediator" on the 20th of May. Count Folke Bernadotte, considered new proposals for the demilitarisation or international control of Haifa; the surrender of large blocks of territory in Southern Palestine which had been allocated to Israel by the UN Partition in return for Western Galilee, which had been allocated to the Arabs. He was the first to be appointed as a United Nations mediator for Palestine, to bring about a settlement between Israel and the Arab States; the incorporation of the proposed Palestine Arab State - including the Wager, in the

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(42). Christopher Sykes, Cross Roads to Israel, p.435

south (and, at one time, the Jerusalem area originally to have been internationalised) - in the kingdom of Transjordan; and the joint control of immigration into Israel by Jews and Arabs through the union of the two territories in a dual State.<sup>(43)</sup> These proposals, which were in accord with British strategic requirements were generally understood, by Israel among others, to have been drawn up in agreement with the foreign affairs policy planners of Britain and the United States.<sup>(44)</sup>

The Security Council Resolutions of March 5, April 1, April 17, and May 22 called upon all parties involved to end the fighting in Palestine.<sup>(45)</sup> It, however, needed a new Security Council resolution for a temporary cease-fire, passed on May 29, and a period of negotiations even after that to secure the first truce, which went into effect on June 11.

Bernadotte obtained a cease-fire of four weeks effective from June 11, and put forward proposals for the settlement which were rejected by both sides

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(43). Sachar, Israel: The Establishment of a State, pp.122-131 and see Halpern, p.377 and Liliental What Price Israel, p.113.

(44). Halpern (fn.17), p.379

(45). Halpern, Ibid., p.379

(the Arabs and the Jewish leaders).

The Arabs refused a prolongation of the cease-fire and hostilities broke out again in July. The Jews again succeeded in nearly all sectors. They occupied Ramle and Lod, Nazareth and Western Galilee (which had been allotted to the Arabs) and advanced their position to the South. A second cease-fire was effected on 18 July. On 16 September Bernadotte recommended to the United Nations General Assembly a change in the proposed partition boundaries, which amounted to assigning the Negev to the Arab State.

In the spring of 1948, the Arab States, taken as a whole, were better equipped than the Zionists; Iraq, Transjordan and Egypt had arms treaties with England. But by the autumn of 1948 the situation was fully reversed. Numerous shipments of smuggled arms from the United States arrived in Israel; and generous dollar gifts collected in the United States purchased for Israel, quantities of first-class arms from Czechoslovakia.

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(46). Fisher, The Middle East A History, Second Edition, p.650.



On September 16, 1948, Count Bernadotte completed his special report to the General Assembly. His recommendations for a political settlement were broadly similar to those he had proposed to the parties during the first truce, though there were several notable changes. He called for the truce to be superceded by a formal peace, or at least an armistice. He recommended that the frontiers between Arab and Jewish territories, in the absence of agreement between Jews and Arabs, should be established by the United Nations with the following suggestions to make them "more equitable, workable and consistent with the existence realities in Palestine":

- (1) The Negev should be defined as Arab territory.
- (2) Ramleh and Lydda should be included in the Arab territory.
- (3) Galilee should be defined as Jewish territory.
- (4) Though the city of Haifa should remain in the Jewish State, the port of Haifa, including the oil refineries and terminals, should be declared a free port, with assurances of free access to interested Arab countries.
- (5) The airport at Lydda should be declared a free airport.

In this plan Count Bernadotte, modifying his earlier suggestions, recommended that the territory of Jerusalem be internationalised. He no longer recommended an economic union of the Arab and Jewish territories, advising, instead, that the disposition of the Arab territories, should be left to the Government of the Arab States in full consultation with the Arab inhabitants of Palestine with the recommendation, however, "that in view of the historical connection and common interests of Transjordan and Palestine there should be compelling reasons for merging the Arab territory of Palestine with the territory of Transjordan." As for the Arab refugees, Count Bernadotte felt that they should have the right to return to their homes in Jewish-controlled territory at the earliest possible date and that adequate compensation for property should be paid to those choosing not to return. To carry out his recommendation, Count Bernadotte suggested that a conciliation commission should be established by the United Nations to replace the office of Mediator.<sup>(47)</sup>

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(47). A 1638, September 18, 1948, p.18.

The publication, on 20 September, of Count Bernadotte's last report and the recommendations contained therein were not relished by the Zionists. It proposed that the General Assembly's partition plan of Palestine should be altered to take into account the existing military frontiers: the Jews were to retain Galilee but give up the entire south of the Negev to the Arabs. It declared that the refugees have every right to return to their homes "at the earliest practicable date"<sup>(48)</sup> and by the 11th December 1948 General Assembly Resolution 194(III/1), which called for the return 'as soon as practicable', of those refugees who were willing to live in peace with their neighbours. Israel, in turn, pointed to the two qualifying phrases in the text to justify its refusal to implement the resolution.<sup>(49)</sup>

On September 17, Bernadotte was assassinated as he was driving through Jerusalem.<sup>(50)</sup> Bernadotte's car

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(48). Mediator's Progress Report, U.N., G.A., A/648.

(49). Resolution 194(III/1), Sharett to Knesset (OK721) (June 15, 1949).

(fn.1)

(50). Sachar, p.483. See Lenczowski (fn.33), p.399 (fn.43), p.436, Lillienthal, White Price Israel? pp.102 and 113.

was halted at a Jewish road block and ambushed, apparently by Jewish terrorists who escaped after shooting Count Folke Bernadotte and Colonel Setrot, a French Truce Observer accompanying the Mediator. On September 18, 1948, the Security Council issued resolution No.57 stating that:- ....The United Nations Mediator in Palestine Count Folke Bernadotte, was assassinated as a result of a cowardly act committed by a criminal group of terrorists in Jerusalem while he was fulfilling his peace-seeking mission in the Holy Land".

(51)

Ben-Gurion used the Bernadotte assassination as the occasion to crack down vigorously on all private armies and terrorist groups but the damage done to Israel's prestige<sup>(52)</sup> as a responsible State was nevertheless severe.

B. Dr. Ralph Bunche:

After the assassination of Count Bernadotte,

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(51). The assassin was a member of the Stern Gang. It seems that Sternists arrested after the murder were allowed to escape. The Head of the Stern Gang had been elected later to Parliament, and took his seat. (Kirk). See Sykes, (fn.42), p.486.

(52). Sachar (fn.1), p.483.

Dr. Ralph Bunche, the Principal Secretary to the United Nations Secretariat group with the Mediator, was named Acting Mediator.<sup>(53)</sup> Bunche took over his duties and aided by the Conciliation Commission, initiated armistice talks between the parties at the Island of Rhodes, for consideration of all the issues referred to in its terms of reference.

On December 11, 1948, the General Assembly passed a resolution establishing a Conciliation Commission whose terms of reference allowed it a relatively free scope in attempting to bring about peaceful settlement of the Palestine dispute.<sup>(54)</sup> Though no reference was made to general boundary adjustments, the Assembly reaffirmed its decision that Jerusalem and its surrounding area should be internationalised and instructed the Conciliation Commission to present to the General Assembly at its fourth regular session detailed proposals for a permanent international regime. The resolution also included a provision that those refugees wishing to return to their homes should be permitted to do so at the earliest practical date and that compensation be paid for

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(53). U.N.S.C., O.R., 3rd Year, No. 110

(54). U.N.G.A., O.R. 3rd Session, Part 1, Plenary Meetings, p. 996.

property of those choosing not to return.

On December 22nd, 1948, fighting broke out in the Negev between the Israelis and the Egyptians. Since Israel had first prevented the United Nations truce observers from moving freely in southern Palestine, the Mediator could not indicate definitely who ~~had~~ started the hostilities, but there is little doubt that Israel took advantage of an <sup>alleged</sup> minor breach of the truce by Egypt to launch a full scale attack on the Egyptian forces. In the renewed fighting, the Israeli forces with air support inflicted sizeable losses upon the Egyptians, driving them into a three mile wide strip of land along the Coast, stretching from Gaza to the Egyptian border.

One mobile Israeli Column penetrated approximately twenty miles inside Egypt and attached the fort of Abu A Weigila and the air fields in the neighbourhood of Elarich.  
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On 12, January, Egyptian and Israeli delegates went to the headquarters of the Mediator at Rhodes for armistice talks. Once the armistice agreement between

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(55). Acting Mediator Reports, S/1152 and S/1153.

Egypt and Israel was signed on February 24, 1949,<sup>(56)</sup>  
the other Arab States were <sup>urged</sup> ~~urged~~ by Bunche to join  
in the negotiations. A cease-fire agreement between  
Jordan and Israel was signed on 11th March at Rhodes,  
after ten days of negotiations, Israel and Syria  
also concluded an agreement on 13th April. On 23rd March,  
an armistice between Lebanon and Israel was signed  
which fixed the frontier on the international boundary,  
largely recognising the existing military situation.<sup>(57)</sup>  
Iraq and Saudi Arabia did not sign separate armistices,  
but indicated that they had considered themselves bound  
by the terms of the armistice agreements already signed.

C. DR. GUNNER JARRING:

The third important link in the chain<sup>is</sup> Dr. Gunner  
Jarring: of U.N. Mediators was Gunnar Jarring. The  
Security Council decided to designate a Special Represent-  
ative "to establish and maintain contacts with the  
States concerned in order to promote agreement and  
assist to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement."

The United Nations Secretary General U. Thant,

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(56). S/1294, dated February 24, 1949.

(57). S/1296, dated March 23rd 1949.

chose Dr. Gunnar Jarring, the Swedish diplomat and his country's Ambassador to the Soviet Union, to undertake this task.<sup>(58)</sup> By the middle of December 1967, Jarring began a series of contacts with Israel, and with Jordan and Egypt; Syria and Iraq had rejected the U.N. resolution 242 as well as the special representative designated under its terms.<sup>(59)</sup>

The progress of Jarring mission was obstructed by Israel's insistence on direct talks and <sup>The</sup> Arabs refused on the ground, as aptly put by the UAR's Mr. El Zayyat, that, "Israel was the creation of force and a U.N. Resolution, not direct talks and hence any peace negotiations must be through the U.N.". The Jarring Mission was also stalled by Israeli stand reflected in Premier Eshkol's declaration of June 22, 1968<sup>(60)</sup> that the River Jordan must form the security border. <sup>Joseph Tekoa</sup> ~~Yasser Arafat~~<sup>(61)</sup> declared his Government's rejection of the Security Council's resolution.<sup>(62)</sup>

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(58). Cohen (fn.18), p.542.

(59). Halpern (fn.17), p.438.

(60). Lakhanpal (fn.5), p.374.

(61). <sup>Joseph Tekoa</sup> ~~Yasser Arafat~~, Israeli Delegate to the UN.

(62). News Agencies, 4/7/1969; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Nations Resolutions Disregarded by Israel 1947 Dec., 1969 (Cairo, 1969), p.6.



At the beginning of May 1968, the Government of Egypt declared that it accepted the decision of the Security Council in its entirety and awaited Dr. Gunner Jarring's schedule for carrying it out. The Arabs, to reiterate their position, insisted on Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territories it had gained in 1967, refused to negotiate directly or to sign a comprehensive and formal peace treaty with Israel.<sup>(63)</sup> The Israelis on the other hand demanded direct peace talks following an initial stage of indirect negotiations, and they refused to clarify what kind of border changes they had in mind when they talked about 'secure'<sup>(64)</sup> recognised and agreed boundaries'. Egypt demanded, withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the occupied territories as a first step in carrying out the resolution. The Government of Israel had interpreted it as an individual entity in which no one section<sup>(65)</sup> should be separated from the rest.

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(63). Walter Laqueur, "Confrontation" The Middle East War and World Politics (London, 1974), p.24. See Ben Halpern (fn.17), p.438.

(64). Ibid., p.24

(65). Cohen (fn.18), p.542.

There were separate talks between Dr. Jarring and Egyptian, Jordanian and Israeli representatives for five weeks in New York in the summer of 1968 but they showed that there was no common ground. The attempt to institute a second round of talks in 1969 (66) failed altogether, mainly because the Israeli reply to Dr. Jarring's proposals on Jerusalem stated that "it would not retreat to the lines that had existed before the Six Day War." (67)

The Egyptian Foreign Minister announced before the UN General Assembly on 10th October 1968 the stand of Egypt vis-a-vis the resolution of the Security Council and Dr. Gunnar Jarring. (68) As compared to the Israeli insistence on aggression and on her repeated refusal for peaceful solution approved by the Security Council, the A.R.E. has adopted a very clear and consistent stand which was to make effort to implement this peaceful solution according to the resolution of 22nd November. The A.R.E. spokesman declared: "We have

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(66). The official record of the Jarring Mission is in U.N. Document S/10070 submitted to the Security Council on January 4th, 1971.

(67). Laquevr, Confrontation (fn.63), p.28.

(68). A.R.E. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Palestine Question (Cairo, 1969), p.31.

already informed the representative of the General Secretary from the very stand of our talks about our total acceptance of the said resolution and our readiness to implement it. We had announced this stand officially more than on one occasion and I have reiterated about our acceptance of this resolution on the 13th March and it was distributed as an official document of the U.N.O. Similarly we had reiterated it again in a letter forwarded to the special representative of the Secretary General on the last 9th May".

"We have made every effort to cooperate with the special representative of the Secretary General for implementing the resolution of Security Council and in the discussions which lasted from now about one year. We have reaffirmed that full implementation of the Security Council's resolution is the only way of the peace and we on our part are ready to implement this resolution".

"We had proposed to the representative of the Secretary General in the course of discussion to set a time table for implementing the resolution of 22nd

November. We had explained to him that setting of a time table to implement all the provisions of the resolution and to shift the peaceful solution approved by the Security Council towards specified practical application". (69)

"Alongwith forwarding this proposal to Dr.Gunnar Jarring in a letter sent to him on the last 9th May we had explained to him our stand in full detail for every provision of the resolution and the way in which these provisions can be implemented with a specific time schedule".

But Israel refused to hold any talks with Dr.Gunnar Jarring on this issue.

Our proposal was that Dr.Gunnar Jarring fix a time table to implement this resolution under the supervision and guarantee of the U.N.O.

We regard the supervision and guarantee of the Security Council a fundamental thing, because Israel had always <sup>breached</sup> ~~broken~~ the international agreements on which it has signed earlier. Similarly its old record of aggression and territorial ambitions made it necessary to implement the resolution under the supervision and guarantee from

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(69). Ibid., p.32.

the Security Council to establish a lasting peace in the Middle East.

Israel's stand vis-a-vis the resolution of Security Council and Dr. Gunnar Jarring.

The news Agency of Associated Press had announced on 21st May 1968 from the occupied Jerusalem that the Government of Israel had issued a statement denying the news that she had informed Dr. Gunnar Jarring of her acceptance of the resolution passed by the Security Council. The official statement said that the letter sent by Mr. Jarring to the Secretary General informing him that Israel had accepted the resolution to solve the problem was untrue and was not binding upon Israel.  
(70)

Israel, subsequently, started playing with words about her acceptance of the Security Council's resolution and avoided to give a clear reply in this respect which ultimately crippled the efforts of Dr. Jarring and left the Middle East problem unsettled.

The refugee problem remains unsolved on account of Israel's refusal to pull back from the occupied areas.

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(70). Ibid., p.33.

### JERUSALEM AND THE HOLY PLACES

The city of Jerusalem and other Holy Places have remained, over the years, a bone of contention between Jews, Christians and Moslems. To Jews, the City was the site of the Temple; to Christians the place of the death and resurrection of Christ; to Moslems a place of pilgrimage second only to Mecca in sacredness. (71)

The Holy places and Jerusalem in Palestine, have been the subject matter of special consideration in different international instruments. The Sykes-Picot Agreement of May, 1916, speaks in terms of securing the religious interests of the Entente Powers by stipulating that Palestine, with the Holy Places, should be subjected to a special regime. (72)

The Balfour Declaration 1917, stipulated that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine" (73) The Mandate also made reference to the Holy Places by providing in Article 13 that:

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(71). See, Encyclopaedia Britannica, p.136

(72). The Arab-Israeli Conflict (The Indian Society of International Law, New Delhi, 1967), p.7.

(73). Laqueur, Israel Arab Reader. See also Lakhampal, (fn.5).

"All responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving rights existing and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings, and sites, and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the Mandatory, who shall be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected herewith, provided that nothing in the Article shall prevent the Mandatory from entering into such arrangements as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this Article into effect; and provided also that nothing in this Mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the Mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed".<sup>(74)</sup>

Several clashes took place between the Moslems and the Jews, asking their rights to the Wailing Wall<sup>(75)</sup> in Jerusalem. The international Commission, in its report

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(74). Ibid., p.

(75). The International Commission consisted of three jurists from Sweden, Switzerland and Netherlands.

*status*  
favoured the retention of the ~~tutela~~ quo; the Wall was Moslem property but the Moslems were not to modify it in any way which would interfere with the access of the Jews for devotion, and the Jews were not to erect any structure of furniture of the pavement near the Wall. Political demonstrations were banned. (76)

*very*  
From the ~~start~~ beginning Israel trained its legislative and administrative measures aiming to change the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem including the expropriation of land and properties. In April 4, 1961, the Security Council adopted a resolution called upon Israel to comply with the decision taken by the joint armistice Commission on March 20, 1961, calling upon Israel to refrain in future from *bringing* ~~bringing~~ to Jerusalem any military equipment in excess of those allowed and the general armistice agreement. (77)

Israel refused to implement the General Assembly and the Security Council resolutions, and on May 15, 1967,

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(76). See Encyclopaedia Britannica, (fn. 71), p. 137 and See The Arab-Israeli Conflict, published by, The Indian Society of International Law, p. 8

(77). Security Council's Resolution No. 162 of April 11, 1961.



organised a military parade in Jerusalem in breach of the Armistice Agreement with Jordan and in defiance of the U.N. resolutions relating to the status of Jerusalem.<sup>(78)</sup>

The General Assembly abrogating the measures taken to change the status in Jerusalem and expressed in its resolution No.2253:<sup>(79)</sup>

- a) Expressing extreme concern for the measures taken by Israel to change the status in the Holy City.
- b) Considering such measures as nul and void.

The Secretary-General pointed out Israel's failure to comply with General Assembly resolution since it took legislative and administrative measures - including the sequestration of some lands and property with the object of changing the status in Jerusalem.<sup>(80)\*</sup>

On August 21st, 1969, a premediated arson was

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(78). Henry Cattan, Palestine and International Law, (London, 1973), p.129.

(79). G.A. Resolution No.2253 dated July 4th, 1967.

(80) Secretary-General report dated September 12th, 1967, (Doc.S/8146).

committed at Al-Aqsa Mosque under the military Israeli occupation of Jerusalem. The Security Council adopted its resolution No.271, in which it expressed its grief for the perpetration of that arson which caused a great loss to human culture, considered that any such act may seriously endanger international peace and security, and emphasized the immediate necessity of Israel desisting from acting in violation of the Council's previous resolutions which called upon Israel to rescind all measures designed to alter the status of Jerusalem. (81)\*\*

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(81). Security Council resolution No.271 dated September 12th, 1967, (Doc. S/8146).

\*\* See Appendix No. 5, p.

THE UNITED STATES AND JEWS:

Although the history of American involvement in Palestine may be stretched back to 1920s' the year when it began to take a definite shape is 1943 - aptly called a watershed in the development of US Palestine Policy. It was Britain rather than the U.S. which mainly governed the affairs of Palestine until it ceased to be the mandatory Power. The latter all along avoided to be caught in between the conflicting Jewish and Arab aspirations.

The reasons for the emergence of US on the scene were numerous. In the early 1940s' the centre of world wide Zionist activity shifted from London to Washington and New York. The first call for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine was given in 1942 by the Zionist movement in New York City from the platform of the Baltimore Conference wherein participated Jews from Palestine, Europe as well as the United States. The American Zionists emerged from this Conference as the most ardent champions of a Jewish State. It was about the same time that news began to trickle from the Nazi occupied Europe of the systematic annihilation of millions of Jews which stirred the mankind and led

some Europeans to view the Jewish question in Germany in terms of a minority issue.

An intensive propaganda campaign was mounted in 1943 by the American Zionists with a view to rallying American public opinion round the Zionist objectives, which though succeeded in winning American sympathies nevertheless aroused anxiety and concern among the Arabs. This sympathy in collusion with a set of other factors combined to bring into existence a new State which was the culmination of the dreams and expectations of the leaders of the Zionist movement if not the world Jewry at large.

What forced the U.S. to ignore world public opinion, to estrange almost the entire Arab world, to risk another global war rather than to make its protege Israel follow a more moderate and conciliatory policy after its establishment in 1948 vis-a-vis the dispossessed Palestinians and the Arab countries needs a closer look at the position the Jewish community occupies in the United States.

The Jewish community in United States has always provided a forceful leverage to the Israeli policy makers in Tel Aviv to twist the arm of United States Administration as and when the former have suspected even a slight wavering in their support to Israel. The statement of an Israeli observer should suffice to indicate the weight that this advantage carries: "If and when we begin to feel some real pressure from the United States, then we will start mobilising the American Jewish Community against Washington's Middle East policies",<sup>(82)</sup> or the remarks of a United States official in Washington that: "From past experiences, we have learned to expect a pattern. First there is a request from the Jewish leaders in the United States for an appointment with the President or the Secretary of State. Then we start getting bales of mail. This is accompanied by a spate of speeches in the Congress. Then a few journalists would burst forth in full throat".<sup>(83)</sup>

The size of the Jewish population - only 2.9 per cent of the United States total - may have proved

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(82). Newsweek, October 18, 1971, p.61

(83). Ibid., p.62

inconsequential if not coupled by its geographical and electoral distribution. The Jews are largely concentrated in the industrialised and urbanised States which, under the American electoral College and, therefore, mostly eagerly sought by the Candidates.<sup>(84)</sup> The population of the major States is as follows:

New York 2,521,755; California 693,085; Pennsylvania 443,525; New Jersey 387,220; Illinois 283,180; Massachusetts 259,635; Florida 189,280; Maryland 177,115; Ohio 160,715; Connecticut 103,730; Michigan 97,995 and Texas 65,520.<sup>(85)</sup> While a Presidential candidate needs 270 votes, the total combined electoral college seats of these States is 277. How then, can a Presidential candidate risk his prospects by ignoring or alienating this cluster of votes over Israel. Rabbi Richard G. Hersh, director of the Religious Action Centre, Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Washington) aptly remarked; the

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(84). Safran, The United States and Israel, p.276

(85). Newsweek, 1st March, 1971, p.58.

major strength of the Jewish vote has come from the fortuitous circumstances of Jewish population concentration in the major States."<sup>(86)</sup>

Opinion polls show that nearly all US Jews (95 per cent) believe that the United States should offer Israel both diplomatic support and military equipment. Near 50% of the American Jews polled by Gallup said that the US should help Israel even at the risk of US involvement in war; only 32 per cent believed that this would be too great a price to pay for helping Israel.<sup>(87)</sup>

"In the economic and general sphere, the impact of American Jews has led to a uniformly and unequivocally friendly and helpful attitude towards Israel. With the United States giving economic aid to more than two score countries, not all formally allies, one would expect Israel too to be among the beneficiaries; but the level of aid given to her has been quite exceptional. During the first fourteen

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(86). National Journal, January 8, 1972, p.72.

(87). Newsweek, (fn.86)

years of Israel's existence, the United States Government has in fact awarded her close to \$850,000,000 of aid in various forms, mostly outright grants of one kind or another. On a per capita basis of the recipient country, this is probably the highest rate of American aid given to any country. Moreover, the American government never seriously attempted to question the classification of the billion dollars of donations made by American Jews as tax-exempt "charity", though this money went, in effect, into the general development budget of Israel. Without this massive aid given or sanctioned by the American Government, Israel would have been unable to develop her economy on the scale she did, absorbs as many immigrants, or perhaps even defend her existence." (88)

The overall impact on voting behaviour of the afore mentioned factors combined with the emotional involvement that practically all Jews have with the State of Israel (during the year Israel <sup>was alleged on</sup> ~~emerged as an~~ independent State on the map of Middle East, American Jews sent to it aid in cash and kind valued at over

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(88). Safran, (fn.84), p.278.



(89)  
\$200,000,000) is unqualified support for pro-Israel candidates and conversely, almost certain hostility towards a candidate who appears to be anti-Israel.

Israel became the obsession of the American Jewry. "Working for Israel-collecting and giving money, following the country's news and development, caring about its problems and taking pride in its achievements, listening to lectures and sermons about it, attending meeting and rallies and social and cultural benefit functions, promoting and participating in specific pet schemes and so on - has become increasingly a focal point of Jewish community life in America".<sup>(90)</sup> Perhaps no other people would have tolerated such type of half baked allegiance and loyalty by a community which not only enjoyed all benefits due to a national but prospered in all spheres of political, social, economic and welfare activities.

Today the Zionist movement in the United States is a major part of the big Jewish capitalists. They helped the Government of Israel from the very beginning to finance its enormous military expenditures.

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(89). Ibid., p.273

(90). Ibid., p.275

In 1971, Israel bought arms with sum of \$716 million from US and its allies. The New York Times (90) reported that this investment is both strengthening Israel and mashing U.S. support: "To the extent that Israel could built tanks and planes and other advanced weapons...There would over shipment of United States arms to Israel. And more advanced arms industry would put Israel in a better position through sales to other nations to finance more her own defence needs. (91)

Hyman Lumer noted, "Financial support to Israel, however, is not limited to Jewish capital and other Jewish contributions. Since its birth, Israel has received well over \$1 billion in grants and credits from the U.S. Government, in contrast to less than \$60 million received by a country like Syria...More than 200 U.S. firms have invested in Israel, including 30 of the top 500 United States industrial corporations. Among these United States investors are such familiar names as Ford, Chrysler, Monsanto Chemicals, Motorola, International Business Systems, Holiday Inns, American Can, Control Data, General Telephone and Electronics, Xerox

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(90). Barry Rubin, America's Mid-East Policy: A Marxist Perspective, Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 11 No. 3, Spring 1973, p. 56.

(91). New York Times, January 14, 1972.

Data Systems, National Cash Register and others". That means, more than half of all foreign capital invested in Israel is American. Almost of Israel's financial, industrial and commercial institutions are in American hands.<sup>(92)</sup>

The Israeli Government received a sum of \$500 million as loan from the U.S. for the purchase of Phantom jets and other arms. President Nixon made it clear that his Administration was prepared to supply Israel with all the arms required to "maintain the balance of power" in the Middle East<sup>(93)\*</sup> - that means just to secure the Israeli military superiority than the Arabs.

It was not merely his generally sympathetic disposition towards Jewish aspirations that made Truman manipulate in an unbecoming manner the birth of Israel, but he recognized fully well the advantage that would accrue from a pro-Israel stance.<sup>(94)</sup> "How many American voters are Arabs?" , he is reported to have retorted when

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(92). Hyman Luner, Zionism: Its Role in World Politics (New York, 1973), pp.79-80.

(93). Ibid.

+ For more details, see Luner (fn.90), pp.76-83 and See A.B. Magil, Israel in Crisis (New York, 1950), pp.101-107 and also, Journal of Palestine Studies, 11.3 Spring 1973 and 1.4, Summer 1974.

(94). Jewish Chronicle, February 11, 1972, p.5.

criticised by one of his advisers for adopting a pro-Zionist policy. The same vote consciousness made Nixon and other countless for the Democratic nomination express concern for Israel and Soviet Jewry. Nixon even agreed to sell Phantoms and Skyhawks to Israel and indicated that he might discuss the immigration of Soviet Jews with the Kremlin leaders when he visited Moscow in May. The Nixon administration authorised a \$50 million loan to help rehabilitate Soviet Jews in Israel.

Any intelligent observer could notice, as a number of publishers and editors of Jewish publications did notice, that it was "obviously a political play"<sup>(95)</sup> Prospective candidates vied with each other to placate the Jewish opinion to win over their votes as may be seen in columns of New York Times of March 1972 which are full with such statements. During the Florida primary, the paper reports, the Democratic candidates for the Party's nomination for the US Presidency campaigned "as if their real ambition was to sit in the Knesset in Jerusalem!"<sup>(96)</sup>

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(95). The Evening Star, March 7, 1972, p.A3.

(96). New York Times March 10, 1972, p.10.

Electioneering in United States is a costly affair and this is more so in case of high offices, and Jews have proven themselves as generous givers! That this generosity is not for nothing is borne out by the facts with rhythmic recurrence. The widely held belief that American policy towards the Middle East is shaped to an exceptional extent by the American Jewish Community - much out of proportion with the numerical strength that they enjoy in the United States is not much far off from truth. Political platforms of the major political parties are within easy reach of the influence of the community. The Jews have an active and powerful base in the Congress for continuous pressure on behalf of Israel. There is also a powerful Zionist lobby in the Congress that constantly works to secure favourable attitudes from other members of the legislature.<sup>(97)</sup>

The United States has the largest Jewish population in the world, currently estimated to be in the proximity of 6,000,000 or 2.9% of the total population, twice as prosperous as the average American middle class family.<sup>(98)</sup> They occupy key positions in

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(97). Odeh Abu Rudneh, The Jewish Factor in US Politics, Journal of Palestine Studies 1(4) Sum.72: pp.92-107

(98). Newsweek, March 1, 1971, p.61.



(101)  
and the office of Management and budget.

How vital and decisive a role the Jewish  
purse played can be gauged by the remarks of Congress-  
man McCloskey defeated in the New Hampshire Primary,  
"The harsh reality is that you cannot run a  
Presidential campaign without large sums of money". (102)

The political impact of the American Jewish  
Community in this regard is difficult to quantify,  
but this is an established fact that political finance  
Committees are studded with names of wealthy Jews. (103)  
Doubtlessly American Jews are "among the major financiers  
of political parties, especially the Democrats, just  
as they are the major financiers of Israel itself. (104)

Abraham Feinberg, a hosiery baron and Chairman  
of the Board of Directors of the Israel Boud Organization  
contributed the Democratic candidate Humphreys' poll  
campaign a sum that ranged between \$250,000 to \$1 million. (105)

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(101). Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Daily News Bulletin,  
January 1972, p.4.

(102). Washington Post, March 11, 1972, p.1

(103). Ibid., February 20, 1972, p.A4.

(104). Ibid.

(105). Jewish Post and Opinion, May 21, 1971, p.2

Eugene Wymann of Los Angeles who had contacts with some of the wealthiest Jews in America promised to raise for Humphrey between \$ 1 million to \$ 2 million. The Jewish contribution to the Humphrey had already reached \$2,70,900 up to March 14, 1972. <sup>(106)</sup> The amount of loans offered to Humphrey by various sources were additional - only two loan sources accounted for \$3,70,000. <sup>(107)</sup> No candidate was an exception as far as Jewish donations for poll campaign is concerned - the difference being only of degree.

The Jewish voice is more than adequately represented both in the Congress as well as the Senate, to promote Israel's cause and ensure sustained US support for the Jewish State. <sup>(108)</sup>

Isaiah Kenen, Executive Director of the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is a well known champion of Israel in Washington and Commands great influence. He dexterously manages support from

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(106). Jewish Week - American Examiner, March 23, 1972, p.2.

(107). New York Times, May 6, 1972, p.11, Evening Star April 20, 1972, p.A2.

(108). Abu Rudneh (fn.97), p.105.



both sides - Democrats and Republicans, and Liberals and Conservatives. Once he remarked, "We keep Israel out of partisan politics. We go to both conventions..... While the Arabs exert pressure at the UN, we work with Congress....."(109).

To sum up it can be safely deduced that the pro-Israel lobby is firmly determined to continue using all the means available for influencing US policy on the Middle East. As a consequence, it has now become a permanent feature of the US political scene for politicians to register extreme sensitivity to whatever they feel to be the wishes of the American Jewry.<sup>(110)</sup>

Golda Meir offered her thanks to Nixon for his strong support to Israel (her speech on July 27, 1972) "This was reflected in public opinion polls there, with one in against showing 77.2 per cent of all Israelis favouring Nixon and only 4.9 per cent favour "somebody else".<sup>(111)</sup>

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(109). Washington Post, April 21, 1972, p.B1.

(110). Abu Rudneh, (fn.97), p.107.

(111). Israel and Palestine, (October 13, 1972), p.7. See also Abu Rudneh (fn.97).

No doubt the U.S. and Israel have enjoyed a unique historical relationship. Without U.S. aid and support, it is unlikely that Israel would have been created out of British-controlled Palestine in 1948. Without U.S. aid and contributions from U.S. Jews, it would not have survived.<sup>(112)</sup>

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(112). Time, March 10, 1975, pp.23-24

CHAPTER VI

THE EMERGENCE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

The State of Israel appeared on the map of the Middle East for the first time in 1948. It was under the spell of Herzl's vision of Der Judenstaat ( the Jewish State ), that the First Zionist Congress was held in 1897. The Congress upheld the right of the Jewish people for a country in the Holy Land.

The British Government, however, put the seal of their support and affirmed the alleged right of the Jews by the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917, which was later on reaffirmed by the Mandate of the League of Nations giving "explicit international recognition to the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to reconstitute<sup>(1)</sup> their National Home".

These developments led millions of European Jews to flood Palestine and establish a home therein. The gates of Palestine were flung open to all Jews without discrimination. This gave the Jewish people a sense of having formed a real state though that sense has been doubted.

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(1). C.H. Dodd, and M.E. Sales, Israel and the World (London, 1970), p.82.

During the Second World War, the Jews in Palestine and elsewhere pulled their entire weight in support of the Allied powers and thus made their full contribution to the struggle of "the freedom<sup>(2)</sup> loving nations against the Nazi evil." Their moral and material support to the Allied cause brought to them, in the following years, a prize for which they craved since long.

The essential pre-requisites without which no modern state can be conceived - territory and population - were, however, absent in this case. As for the former, the Jews had not received a precise pledge, as they had hoped, for "the establishment of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people", but for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people", a hazy and confused definition. The latter, i.e. population, they had hardly at all.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1914 the Jewish minority in Palestine seems to have totalled around 80,000 and to have sunk to somewhere around 65,000 by 1917. The total population in that year was somewhat below 700,000. "The Jews of Palestine were less

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(2). Ibid., p.83

(3). Sykes, Cross Road to Israel (London, 1965), p.25.

than ten per cent of the whole people, and a most important detail - only a minority of this minority were Zionists. The National Home depended from the beginning on immigration from abroad, and no one then had or could have the least idea how large an immigration would be attracted to Zion by the Balfour Declaration. The Jews might arrive in millions or in a few hundreds only, and there was no reason for Jewish optimism in this respect. There had no Jewish mass migration to Palestine in modern times. Nearly all the migrations from Russia in the nineteenth century had been to Central Europe and the United States, and the doors of America were still wide open. For the Zionist leaders to have demanded a Jewish State, or for a British Government to have sponsored one, might have been to invite ridicule and instant disaster on the whole venture.<sup>(4)</sup> But, despite these negative factors and the resistance of the entire Arab World the State of Israel did come into existence.

The formalisation of the State came shortly after the U.N. General Assembly adopted, on 29 November 1947, by a vote of 33 to 13 with 10 abstentions, a

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(4). Ibid.

resolution for the partition of Palestine, basically on the lines suggested by the majority report with some territorial modifications.<sup>(5)</sup>

There is little doubt that the U.N. vote in favour of Partition was secured by Zionist pressures and power politics.<sup>(6)</sup> There were serious doubts even until a few days before the vote was taken that the partition plan might not obtain the require two-thirds majority of those voting on the issue. However, the several postponements that preceded the day of voting, gave the Zionists and their sympathisers among the United States officialdom ample opportunity to put pressure on China, Ethiopia, Greece, Hati, Liberia, and the Philippines, all of which intended to vote against partition.<sup>(7)</sup> Greece was the solitary exception<sup>(8)</sup> to withstand the pressure.

The U.S. President, Harry Truman, used both his personal as well as official influence to secure the

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(5). See Resolution 181(11).

(6). Kermit Roosevelt, "The Partition of Palestine - A Lesson in Pressure Politics", Middle East Journal Vol.2, 1948, p.1.

(7). Henry Cattan, Palestine, the Arabs, and Israel (London, Longman, 1969), p.26.

(8). S.N. Fisher, The Middle East (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959), p.583.

(9)  
U.N. vote in favour of partition.

(10)  
Stephen Penrose has criticised the way America conducted himself in regard to the issue and exercised undesirable pressure designed to secure the adoption of the partition resolution in the following terms:

"The political maneuvering which led to the final acceptance of the United Nations General Assembly of the majority report of UNSCOP provides one of the blacker pages in the history of American pressure which brought about the acceptance of the recommendation for partition of Palestine with Economic Union voted by the General Assembly on November 29, 1947. It was this effective American pressure for partition which is largely responsible for the terrific drop which American prestige took in all parts of the Arab and Muslim world."(11)

That this resolution did utterly disregard the

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(9). John L. Davis, The Evasive Peace (London, John Murray, 1968), p.37. See also Cattani, op. cit., p.27.

(10). B.L. Stephen, Penrose is President of the American University of Beirut.

(11). B.L. Stephen Penrose, The Palestine Problem: Retrospect and Prospect (New York, American Friends of the Middle East, 1947) p.10.

rights of the people of the land, that is, the Palestinians, few impartial observers would contend. In fact "The U.N. resolution to partition Palestine was one of the great injustice to the original inhabitants of the country both in respect of the principle of partition and in the manner of the division."<sup>(12)</sup>

The Arabs were justifiably adamant and had every right to resist the partition of their own land. The Jews, on the other hand, would not let this unique opportunity slip off easily. Their leaders were equally determined to create a Jewish State in Palestine. The U.N. General Assembly had appointed the Palestine Commission as provided in its resolution of 29 November 1947 to implement the partition plan. The Commission reported the steadily deteriorating situation in Palestine.<sup>(13)</sup>

Warren Austin, the U.S. representative at the United Nations, called for a temporary trusteeship for Palestine under the Trusteeship Council pending the establishment of a government approved by Arabs and Jews. He presented, on 30 March, a resolution to the Security Council asking that the General Assembly be convened "to consider further the question of the future

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(12). Henry Cattan, (fn.7), p.27.

(13). See Cattan, (fn.7), p.31.



government of Palestine". On 16 April 1948, a second session of the General Assembly was convened to consider further the question of Palestine. The British Government, as the outgoing mandatory power, announced that it was not prepared to be a party to the enforcement of a settlement which was not acceptable to Arabs and Jews alike. The Jews were opposed to any reversal of attitude concerning the Partition Plan.<sup>(14)</sup> The proposal made by the American government for the establishment of a temporary United Nations trusteeship over Palestine was attacked by Zionist leaders as "a shocking reversal of the position."

The General Assembly ended its second special session on 14 May 1948 - abandoning the trusteeship idea - with a resolution appointing a mediator to encourage and help bring about an adjustment in the diametrically opposed positions taken both by Arabs and Jews regarding the future of Palestine.

As compared with Arabs, the Jews were more cohesive, strong and united politically. They were more sound than the Arabs financially as they were in posses-

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(14). Ibid.

sion of vast resources flowing from the world Jewry as well as the United States. They were better prepared, trained and equipped to embark upon an armed conflict with the Arabs since most of the Jewish immigrants had already military training and a fairly large number had the combat experience of the World War II battle fronts as also (15) during the mandate period.

The Jewish leadership in Palestine had created a number of illegal underground para-military organisations during the Mandate period, leading among them were the following:

1. The Haganah: The semi-secret militia of the Jewish community in Palestine under the Mandate had a membership ranging between 60,000 to 80,000. (16)

2. The Irgun Zvai Leumi, founded in 1937 by a group of leaders of the Zionist Revisionists and of their autonomous youth movement, had a membership of about (17) 5,000 to 10,000; and

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(15). See Government of Palestine, A Survey of Palestine, Vol. II, pp. 590-91.

(16). See the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry on Palestine, (1946), pp. 40-41; Fisher, S.N. The Middle East (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960) p. 579; Palestine Government, op. cit., pp. 601-606; Halpern The Idea of the Jewish State, 2nd ed. pp. 43-45.

(17). Zionist Review May 30, 1947, p. 4; Cattani, (fn. 7), p. 32.

### 3. The Stern Gang.

Often times the three organizations worked in close cooperation and collaborated in a number of operations.<sup>(18)</sup>

Under the British administrative system, as many as nearly 500,000 new Jewish immigrants had been brought into Palestine by the end of World War II. As a result, the Jewish population of Palestine had gone up from 11% in 1922 to 32% in 1945.<sup>(19)</sup>

Since what was place was so manifestly against the wishes of the Arabs, therefore, suspecting trouble from their side, the British supplied arms and other equipment to the Jews so that they might be able to defend themselves.<sup>(20)</sup> However, as events unfolded, the same arms and equipment were brutally used against the indigenous Arab population which was by and large unarmed and poorly equipped to face such an eventuality.

The decision to proclaim the Jewish State was

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(18). G. Kirk, The Middle East, 1945-1950 (London), p.247.

(19). Lilienthal, What Price Israel?, p.40.

(20). Ibid.

taken on 12 May by the newly established Jewish National Executive in Palestine. The motion was carried by a narrow majority of six to four. Ben Gurion led the six, after Shertok, fresh from America, had presented an account of the pressure to which he had been subjected in Washington by George C. Marshall, the U.S. Secretary of State, and the Under Secretary of State, Robert A. Lovett. The Americans had impressed upon him the fact that no American aid could be expected if the Jews did not "postpone" the proclamation and freeze all action military and political, in what was euphemistically called a  
(21)  
"cease-fire". They felt that the conflict in Palestine might lead to a World War and to bolster their arguments they expressed a pessimistic opinion of Jewish military chances against the regular Arab armies scheduled to invade Palestine the following week.<sup>(22)</sup>

That terrorist organization had all along been working hand in glove with the Zionist leadership for the

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(21). Samuel Katz, Days of Fire (London, 1968), p.227

(22). Zeev Sharet, Three Days (London, W.H. Allen, 1959), pp.72-73. Sharet was present at the meeting as Secretary of the National Executive. He later became Secretary to the Israeli Cabinet (See also p.227).

establishment of the Jewish State is manifest from the fact that Ben Gurion sent an emissary to Begin Eliezer Liebenstein (now Livneh), to express his appreciation of the continuing Irgun pressure for the establishment of the State.

Whether the American warning to the Zionist leaders not to go ahead with the proclamation of the Jewish State was a measure to salvage American bonafides and prestige among the Muslim and Arab countries all over the world or there was a serious gap in the rapport between the U.S. President and his State Department officials, the fact remains that it was Truman who was the first to accord de facto recognition to the State of Israel barely eleven minutes after its proclamation.<sup>(23)</sup>

Lillienthal, however, goes a step further and seems to be correct to the minute in describing the events as they took place. The time when Charles Ross, President's Press Secretary, had summoned reporters to his office in the White House to read out the two-paragraph announcement of President Truman on recognition of the new State ironically coincided with the proposing of a trusteeship for Palestine by the U.S. representatives at the U.N.! The U.S. ambassador to the United Nations,

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(23). Katz (fn.21), p.229.

(24)  
Austin felt outraged at the Presidential step. The sequence of events and the resultant confusion are portrayed thus: "A variety of wild rumours had been circulating at Flushing Meadow where the 135th Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly was in session to receive a report of its First Committee. The General Assembly did not convene until 4:30 P.M. With Dr. Arce of Argentine in the chair, the delegates were considering the question of the internationalization of Jerusalem. The appointment of a U.N. Commissioner for the Holy City had just been voted, and it was approximately six o'clock when the Colombian delegate, Mr. Gonzalez Fernandez asked the U.S. representative whether he was in a position to confirm the information given to the press that a Government of a Jewish State had been recognized by the United States. Francis B. Sayre, former Assistant Secretary of State, and one of the three U.S. representatives on the Permanent Mission to the United Nations, replied that for the time being he had no official information on that subject. Betty Gough, one of the Assistants from the International Organization Division of the State Department, was sent out for the latest news.

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(24). Lilienthal (fn.19), pp.84-86.

The discussion continued with Cuba's Ambassador, Dr. Guillermo Belt, expressing his surprise that the U.S. representative had no information. It appeared to the Cuban delegate "that the representatives of the USSR and Poland were better informed on events in Washington," and that further consideration of the resolution under debate was pointless since the "U.S. Government had recognized the new Jewish State".

"Some time later, a rather confused and embarrassed Professor Philip C. Jessup, Deputy U.S. Representative, arose to announce that the "U.S. delegation was now able to communicate to the Assembly the text of the statement by the President of the United States". Holding in his hand the clipped-off portion of press-ticker tape Miss Gough had handed to him, Professor Jessup read as follows: "This Government has been informed that a Jewish State has been proclaimed in Palestine and recognition has been requested by the provisional Government thereof. The United States recognizes the provisional Government as the de facto authority of the new State of Israel".

"This is how the American delegation to the United

Nations received word of the President's historic decision. To be sure, the Presidential Statement that "recognition has been requested by the provisional Government thereof" was hardly the truth. The only communication the President had before him at the time his statement was issued, was a letter, dated May 14, 1948, and written on the letterhead of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, saying that such a State "will be set up at midnight." It was signed by Eliahu Epstein as Agent of the Provisional Government; but there was then no such Government. The only legal authority over Palestine, at the time the letter was written and received, was the British Mandate. It was only after the ink had dried on the Presidential signature that the Provisional Government of Israel came into being. Almost twenty-four hours after the President's indecently hasty action, the Department of State received a cable from the Provisional Government of Israel requesting recognition."

The Pittsburg (Pa) Post Gazette editorialised the event under the caption: "Laughter at Lake Success" noting that "The Administration's handling of the Palestine



problem has been so inept that the American delegation has become a laughing stock in the United Nations. The President's precipitous decision to recognize Israel left our allies in the dark, plunged the State Department into confusion and in general made us look wholly irresponsible."<sup>(25)</sup> The Richmond Times hinted that this was done with an eye on the coming election, while St. Louis Dispatch sounded somewhat more forthright and pungent in its remarks. It said: "The White House says it (recognition) is not a snap judgment, but the United Nations delegation bitterly thinks otherwise. They cannot avoid taking it for what it seems - shameless junking of international interests to regain the Jewish votes the recent Bronx election showed had been lost."<sup>(26)</sup>

The British however, resisted all pressures, and did not relent. In fact, Bevin launched a vigorous diplomatic campaign to prevent other nations from recognising the Jewish State. Holland, France, and the Scandinavian States were all subjected to British pressure. At Lake Success, in the first days following the birth of Israel, Sir Alexander Cadogan advanced four arguments in support

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(25). Cited in Lillienthal (fn.19), p.87

(26). Ibid.

of Britain's stand against recognition of the newly carved out State.

- a) The Jewish State had no legal basis - because the United Nations time table preceding its establishment had not been carried out (by the British themselves, though he failed to record this fact!);
- b) Since the Jewish State did not legally exist, it could not claim to have been invaded;
- c) The attack by Arab States was not a threat to peace; and
- d) British aid to the Arab States - in arms, in money, and, for Transjordan, in officers - would continue unless the Security Council of the United Nations decided otherwise. (Britain he neglected to say, had the right of veto in the Security Council and could block any decision by its members).<sup>(27)</sup>

The Anglo-Arab alliance was complete and open, The Arabs did not conceal it and were ashamed of it. On 19 May, Azzam Pasha, Secretary of the Arab League, expressing confidence in the ultimate outcome of the struggle

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(27). Katz (fn.21), p.230.

told a correspondent of the London Times:

"Dangerous and unfounded rumours are beginning to circulate that the Arab Legion is being restrained by the British. I can state categorically that no restrictions whatever have been made of even suggested by the British".(28)

Though the divergence in the approaches of the United States and Britain vis-a-vis the issue of recognition persisted, yet the one American measure that could have defeated Bevin's policy and render it meaningless, namely, lifting the arms embargo, was never adopted.

To lessen the tension, bad blood, and state of confrontation between Jews and Arabs, that the Proclamation of the State of Israel resulted into, Count Folke Bernadotte, head of the Swedish Red Cross was appointed to act as Mediator and bring peace to Palestine. He took charge of his office in Palestine towards the end of May. ~~By~~ then the Security Council had adopted a British proposal for a Truce to last four weeks during which a solution to the conflict would be sought. While the proposal found ready acceptance with Provisional Government

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(28). Ibid.

of Israel, there was a protracted discussion among the Arab States on its merits.

The Proclamation had another aspect too. It at once placed the principle of sovereignty in quite a different perspective from the peculiarly ambiguous situation of Zionist doctrine before that time. They did not care for a moment to pause and think that theirs was not a State that evolved naturally or through legal processes, and was on the contrary founded on force, usurpation, and by depriving the people of the land of their legal rights.

The Israelis painted a distorted picture to have the world believe that they were the victims of aggression and not the Palestinian Arab people, that Israel was born under the fire of armed foes and that, in their view, the international community abandoned them to their own defences. This situation made even more fierce the insis-  
(2)  
tence of the Israelis on their prerogatives of sovereignty.

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(29). Halpern, (fn.16), pp.48-49.

No wonder then, that the special conditions under which Israel was created and continued to exist caused somewhat different views regarding some aspects of Israel's sovereignty to find support in the international community. Israel herself gave symbolic recognition to the unusual relationship of the international community to the new State, by proclaiming in its Declaration of Independence that, in establishing human rights and fundamental freedoms in its constitutional structure, it would carry out the injunction laid upon it by the U.N. Partition Resolution. The stubborn attitude and anger of the Arab nations, who persisted in denying Israel's sovereign existence and did every thing within their power to check it or to block its international acceptance, should not be difficult to understand. The Arabs felt outraged at the betrayal of trust by the Victors

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of World War II whom they extended whole hearted material and moral support during the War on the explicit understanding that they would be granted independence as soon as the War would be over; they never had even the slightest inkling that what they would get in return for their support to the Allied cause would be the creation of a hostile State at their cost, in the heart of their land, that would become a perennial danger to their security and territorial integrity.

As it were, the relations between Israel and her Arab neighbours were governed after 1949 by Armistice Agreements and were affected by UN resolutions. If any one could pressurise Israel to come to terms with its Arab neighbours and live in peace with them, it is those who have stood by her ever since it came into existence, those who extended aid and investment to provide sustenance and lend stability to the State, as well as the international good will. If only these forces - the sources of Israel's economic and political support - exerted sharp pressure upon her, perhaps restoration of peace and stability to the region would stand a good chance.

The first country to recognise the new State, as

has been stated earlier, was the United States. Truman made a brief statement to the effect on Friday, shortly after 6 p.m. Washington time.<sup>(30)</sup> Mr. Geranodose, the representative of Guatemala, in the United Nations announced his Government's recognition to Israel (this he did on his own responsibility) during the same U.N. session.<sup>(31)</sup> The Soviet Union was the third country to recognise Israel on 17 May 1948.<sup>(32)</sup> Later, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Uruguay and other countries followed.<sup>(33)</sup> On May 11, 1949 Israel with the help of the United States was admitted to the United Nations. This event, however, did not mean, that its territorial status was settled. The United Nations refused the Israeli plan to make Jerusalem as Israeli capital, but Israeli Government in 1953 moved all its offices to Jerusalem which was declared to be the capital of the new State in total disregard to the recommendations of the United Nations. A number govern-

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(30). Walter Laquer, A History of Zionism (London, 1972), p. 586.

(31). Al-Ahram (Cairo), 16 May 1973.

(32). J.K. Banerji, The Middle East in World Politics (Calcutta, 1960), p. 180.

(33). Laqueur (fn. 30), p. 586.

ments refused to recognise the validity of the  
(34)  
move.

Immediately after the establishment of the State of Israel, the doors of Palestine were thrown open to all Jews from whatever part of the globe who wished to come to Palestine. The first arrivals were those Jews whom Britain had intercepted during the closing days of the Mandate and had kept in its own DP camps on the  
(35)  
Island of Cyprus.

The British protection had enabled the Yishuv to increase its numerical strength through Jewish immigration. At the end of the Great War, there were some 60,000 Jews in Palestine out of a total population of 700,000.<sup>(36)</sup> Between 1919 and 1931 some 117,000 Jews entered Palestine. The political crisis and lack of suitable employment

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(34). Solomon Grayzel, A History of the Contemporary Jews, from 1900 to the present. (New York, 1960), p.133.

(35). Grayzel, (fn.34), p.134.

(36). Maxime Rodinson, Israel and the Arabs (London, 1968), p.32.



opportunities forced many Jews to go back to their homes again. Twenty nine, out of every 100 immigrants left Palestine after a brief stay between 1924 to 1931. In 1927 there were more departures than arrivals - 5,000 as against 3,000.<sup>(37)</sup> Hitler's persecutions again boosted the flow of immigrants, which saved the Yishuv.

How eminently it fitted into the Zionists' scheme of things can be judged from the fact that the second day of the Proclamation, i.e. 15 May 1948, marked the beginning of armed clashes between the Arabs and the Jews which continued until 1949, with two<sup>(38)</sup> intervening armistice agreements.

The Palestine war of 1948 concluded by four Armistice Agreements signed by Israel with Egypt on February 24, 1949, with Lebanon on March 23, 1949, with Jordan on April 3, 1949 and with Syria on July 20, 1949. Commander Hutchison aptly observed, "It was a short war

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(37). Ibid., p.32

(38). Qassim Hassan, Political Zionism as it Stands, (New Delhi, 1960), p.46.

marked by outside intervention, Arab disunity and unlimited ~~war~~ aid to Israel from the West, in addition to timely and substantial shipments of arms from behind the Iron Curtain, primarily from Czechoslovakia. This aid, sent in against the orders of the United Nations, was sufficient to turn the tide of battle and to grant Israel considerable land gains."<sup>(39)</sup>

There are three facts, however, which were blurred by Zionist propaganda:

1) The Jews had taken advantage of their superior military preparation and organisation, before the events of 1948. During the six months preceding the end of the Mandate shows that the Jewish forces had seized and occupied most of the Arab cities of Palestine before May 15, 1948.<sup>(40)</sup>

2) The Jews showed no respect either before or after May 15, 1948, for the territorial boundaries fixed by the partition resolution for the proposed Arab and Jewish States. They not only occupied the territory of the proposed Jewish State but also seized a substantial portion of the territory reserved for the proposed Arab

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(39). E.H.Hutchison, Violent Truce (New York, 1956), p.95.

(40). George Kirk, A Short History of the Middle East, (London, 1948), pp.262-266.

(41)  
State. The total area which the Israelis seized in 1948 and 1949 amounted to 20,850 square kilometres, but of the 26,323 square kilometres representing the total area of Palestine.<sup>(42)</sup>

3) The Israeli Government pretended that they would not respect the territorial limits set by the resolution of November 29, 1947 because of the Arab refusal to accept partition. In fact, the Jews themselves largely contributed to the defeat of the partition resolution by occupying forcibly, and even before the end of the Mandate, the major part of the territories allocated to the Palestine Arabs by the resolution.<sup>(43)</sup>

The result of the Palestine conflict of 1948 was summed up by the American Chairman of the Israeli-Jordan Armistice Commission in the following terms:

"The brief official Palestine war of 1948-49 is now a part of history - it settled none of the basic issues of Arab-Israeli contention. The major powers of the West and the East, losing sight of the true value of a friendly Arab world in the swirling clouds of Zionist propaganda

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(41). See Cattan (fn.7), p.37.

(42). Israel Government, Year Book (English edition) (5712, i.e.1951/52), p.315.

(43). See Cattan (fn.7), p.38.

overran the rights of the indigenous population of Palestine - the Arabs. Every step in the establishment of a Zionist State had been a challenge to justice. (44)

It may however be noted that the Armistice Agreements of 1948-49 between Israel and the Arab States were the only political documents thus far negotiated and signed by those states. The agreements were the product of conferences under the United Nations auspices held at Rhodes in 1949. Those conferences, in turn, met because the Israelis made it clear that hostilities would be resumed unless the Arab nations, and above all Egypt, obeyed the Security Council's call that the parties agree on all armistice. (45)

The following tables will explain the positions regarding the area of Palestine, proportion of Arab and Jewish populations in the protectorate period, at the time of decision taken for the States' division and after the truce agreements showing the great differences between the manifold majority of Arabs and Jewish minority.

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(44). Hutchison, (fn.39), p.95; See also Cattan, op. cit., p.38.

(45). Louis Henkin, ed. World Politics and the Jewish Condition (Grove Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1972); Rostow, Eugene V. American Foreign Policy and the Middle East, pp.86-87.

AREA AND POPULATION

1. PROTECTORATE PERIOD

a) Palestine area in sq.miles

Dry Land	..	26,323,023
Water Land	..	704,000
Palestine share from Dead Sea 525,000		
"	"	Thberla
"	"	Lake... 165,000
"	"	"Jaulah Lake 14,000
TOTAL AREA		27,027,023

b) Average of Land Ownership till November 1947

Arab	12,574,774	47.79%	of the total land
Jewish	1,491,699	5.67	" " "
Other Communities	142,050	0.54%	" " "
Princely Properties	12,194,500	46 %	" " "

c) Conditions prevailing after Truce Agreement in 1949:

PARTICULARS	AREA IN SQ. MILES	PERCENTAGE
Occupied Area (Israel)	..	20,922,023
West Bank		5,755,000
Gaza Sector	..	0,350,000
		1.30
TOTAL	27,027,023	100

2. LAND DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO THE OWNERSHIP (Area in Sq. Miles)

PARTICULARS	ARABS	JEMS	OTHER COMMUNITIES	GOVT.	TOTAL
Occupied area (Israel)	7,481,967	1,475,766	105,221	12,340,590	20,922,023
West Bank	4,845,825	18,671	36,750	152,754	5,051,000
Gaza Sector	0,246,982	00,267	,069	102,687	350,00
GRANT TOTAL					26,323,023

3. PEOPLE AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION:

<u>PARTICULARS</u>	<u>ARABS AND OTHERS</u>	<u>JEWS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Occupied Area (Israel)	152,000	608,000	760,000
West Bank	425,000		425,000
Gaza Sector	70,000		70,000
<u>TOTAL</u>			<u>1,255,000</u>

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, U.A.R. The Palestine Question and the Middle East Problem (Cairo, 1969), pp. 31-33.

N.B: About 612 thousand Palestinians have taken refuge in the neighbouring Arab countries due to the wanton suppression by the Zionists.

While the Jews outmanoeuvred the Arabs both on the political as well as military planes, the position of the latter was no better on the economic plane by any means. The Arabs are very keen to see that the UNO plays a positive role in pressurizing Israel to implement its past resolution so that it may arrive at an agreement with Arabs based on honour and justice. Similarly, they are very eager that the UNO should not grant aid and finances to Israel while she stands in the way of progress and development of the Arab countries. They have the right to adopt the means of lawful defence as the boycott of Israel as long as the Zionist designs aim at the Arab economy which may pose a threat to their future and as long as Israel put hindrances in the way of the Arabs' regaining their rights.<sup>(46)</sup>

Though economically even Israel faced no less challenging problems, the aid and assistance it received from various quarters, especially from the world Jewry more than sustained its deficit economy. Even during the mandatory period the Jewish Yishav had a deficit economy, but the situation became worse after the establishment of the State. That Israel has eluded and still eludes

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(46). M.S. Zaid, Al-Mushkilat al-Haditha fi al-Sharq al-Awsat (The Modern problems of the Middle East) (Cairo -1955), pp.242-243.



bankruptcy is due primarily to the voluntary contributions from the American Jewry. The targets of the 1949 and 1950 fund drives in the United States known as the United Jewish Appeal<sup>(47)</sup> were \$250,000,000 a year, most of which was to help Israel tide over her economic problems. These were large sums compared to the Israeli state budget, which in 1949-1950 amounted only to \$285,000,000. In October 1949 Prime Minister Ben Gurion stated that Israel's deficit<sup>(48)</sup> was I£7,000,000 (\$20,000,000) a month.

In 1949, Israel adopted a four year plan, for the development of agriculture, establishment of new industries, and also for the rehabilitation of the immigrants. In October 1950 American Jewry pledged Israel \$1,000,000,000 over the next three years for the resettlement of 6,00,000 Jews. This was followed by floatation in the United States of an Israeli bond issue totalling \$500,000,000. Headed by Henry Morgenthau, Jr., former American Secretary of the Treasury, the issue showed promise of success. In the spring of 1951, Prime Minister Ben Gurion toured Jewish centres in the United States to<sup>(49)</sup> make a final appeal on behalf of the great fund drive.

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(47). Lilienthal (fn.19), pp.46,100,182-83.

(48). Lenczowski, The Middle East in World Affairs. p.342.

(49). Ibid., p.343

There were other financial sources, e.g., German reparations, that supplemented the Israeli exchequer which were not available to the Arabs, though, no doubt the situation changed radically after the discovery of oil in a large number of Arab States, which on the one hand provided development funds to the relatively poorer nations of the region, and on the other hand became weapon in the hands of the Arabs to pressurise the supporters of Israel to see reason.

#### THE GOVERNANCE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

On May 14, 1948, a provisional government was formed from among the members of the Provisional Council and the Jewish Agency. Interestingly enough, all the government members resigned from the Jewish Agency except the Finance Minister who retained his Jewish Agency post as a link between the Israeli Government and the world Jewry.<sup>(50)</sup> The Provisional Council consisted of a thirty-eight members, <sup>(51)</sup> representing a dozen political parties. The Mapai Party occupied twelve of the thirty-eight seats, and dominated the governmental business. Although a Committee was directed in 1950 to draft a Constitution for the State, Ben-Gurion the Prime Minister, preferred an unwritten Constitution aft-

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(50). Don Peretz, The Middle East Today (New York, 1963), p. 286

(51). Ibid., pp. 278-279

er the manner of the British and desired that the Constitution be built law by law.

There is, therefore, no written Constitution for the State of Israel.<sup>(53)</sup> The Transition Law of 1949, prescribed in general terms the powers of the President, the Legislature and the Cabinet.<sup>(54)</sup> In June 1950, the Knesset voted to adopt a State Constitution by evolution over an unspecified period. A number of laws, including the Law of Return (1950), the Nationality Law (1952), the State President (Tenure) Law (1952), the Education Law (1953), and the "Yad va Shem" Memorial Law (1953) are considered as incorporated into the State Constitution. Other Constitutional laws are: the Law and Administration Ordinance (1948), the Knesset Election Law (1951), the Law of Equal Rights for Women (1951), the Judges Act (1953), the National Service and National Insurance Acts (1953), the Courts Law (1957), the Basic Law (the Knesset) (1958), and the Knesset Elections Law (1969).<sup>(55)</sup>

One of the few first laws enacted by the Knesset,

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(53). The Middle East and North Africa, 1972-73. (London, Europa Publication, 1972), p.406.

(54). Facts about Israel. (Jerusalem, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1973), p.87.

(55). Middle East and North Africa, op.cit., p.406.;  
Facts About Israel, op. cit., pp.87-88

viz., the Law of Return (1950), provided for unlimited ingathering of Jewish people, the immigrants automatical-  
(56)  
ly becoming Israeli citizens upon their entry.

The Knesset is the Parliament of the State. It is a unicameral body having 120 members elected by universal suffrage under proportional representation generally for a term of four years. The Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister is collectively responsible to the Knesset. It takes office on receiving a vote of confidence from that body, and continues in Office until after resignation (or death) of the Prime Minister, or upon a vote of no-confidence - a new Cabinet is constituted. Ministers are usually but not necessarily members of the Knesset. As no party has so far commanded an absolute majority  
(57)  
all cabinets have been based on coalitions. The first Israeli national elections were not held until 1949 because of the Palestine War.

Political parties in the State of Israel are more or less the same as existed under the Mandate with slight modifications in their names or composition. From

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(56). Sydney Nettleton Fisher, The Middle East: A History. (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, (2nd ed), 1971), p.655; Eisenstadt, S.N., The Israeli Society, p.286; O. Janovsky, Foundations of Israel (New York, 1959), p.88-92.

(57). Nadav Safran, The United States and Israel. (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p.97.

the very beginning, political power in Israel is concentrated in the Cabinet or Knesset, which displayed considerable capacity for effective action under leadership of Veteran Zionist the late Joseph Sprinsek, the (58) Speaker. The electoral system on which it is based is the proportional list system, the same as used by the Zionist Congresses during the British Mandate in which votes were cast for party lists rather than for individual candidates. It was designed thus to prevent any party from having a majority in any elections.

From the beginning Israel had a coalition of four parties: Mapai, holding a majority of the portfolios, Mapan, Orthodox, and General Zionist. The revisionists were excluded from the Executive branch, and at one time legal proceedings were initiated against some of their leaders. In 1948-1949 there was even some doubt, in view of their terrorist record and their independent course, whether or not they could be integrated in the (59) new State. The municipal and rural elections of 1950

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(58). The Middle East and North Africa, 1971-72. (London, Europa Publication, 1971), pp. 308-309.

(59). G. Lenczowski (fn. 48), p. 343.

brought moderate gains to the right parties (General Zionists and Revisionists) but the Socialist parties still command a strong position. Histadneth (The General Confederation of Labors) continued to occupy the key position in the Israeli politics. There were twenty-one parties contesting the 120 Knesset seats in the first election. But the main parties that emerged successful in the election were:

Mapai: (Israeli Workers Party)

(60)  
The Party was founded in 1929. It was strongly influenced by Marxian socialism, being the product, at its inception, of two previously established socialist functions, Mapoel Hatzair (Young Worker) and Ahdut Avoda (Labour Union). Mapai became one of the strongest world Jewish groups through its posts in the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency. Ben-Gurion, the party leader, was Chairman of the Jewish Agency, Moshe Sharett was Co-Director of the Agency's Political Department before he became Israel's first Foreign Minister, and Agency Treasurer Eliezer Kaplan became the first Finance Minister. (61)  
A new party, the Israel Labour Party

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(60). Peretz, (fn. 50), pp. 281-282.

(61). Ben-Gurion, Israel: Years of Challenge, p. 220

(Mifleget Ha'avoda Hayisre'elite) was created in January 1968 by the Union of Mapai, Ahdut Ha'avoda-Poalei Zion (1944) and Rafi-Israel Labour List (1965). It is Israel's largest party, with thirteen Ministers in the Cabinet. <sup>(62)</sup>

In the 1969 elections in alignment with another Zionist Socialist Party, Mapam, the Party gained 65.17% in Histadrut (General Federation of Labour), and, together with other affiliated Arab and Druze factions, 60 out of 120 Knesset seats. The Party holds all central Cabinet positions and heads almost all important municipalities. <sup>(63)</sup>

Mapam:

(64)

Founded in 1948 Mapam is Israel's second largest Socialist Party. It is a left wing Zionist Socialist Party, aims at the ingathering of the Jewish people, the realization of Socialism, and training the Jewish youth for pioneering settlement. The Party came into being on the eve of Israel's establishment as a result of the merger of Hashomer Hatzair with Ahdut Avoda (Labour Unity) and a small splinter group, Poale Zion Smole (Left Zion

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(62). Facts about Israel (fn.54), p.89.

(63). Middle East and North Africa, 1972-73, op.cit., p.410

(64). Eisenstadt, p.288.

(65)  
Workers). Mapam members consider themselves an integral part of the world proletariat striving to replace "the capitalist system with its profits and exploitation of the many for the good of the few" by a new economic programme and has come largely from the left-wing of the collective settlement movement. (66)

Achdhut Ha'avoda - Poalei Zion (Ahdut Avoda):

Separated from Mapam in 1953, it became stronger than the parent party, but began to decline after Mapam abandoned its pro-Soviet orientation. It was in 1954, as a pioneering Zionist party, standing for a planned economy, widespread agricultural settlement. The party pursues an activist defence policy; a foreign policy of non-identification and friendship with all peace-loving peoples, particularly in Asia. (67) Mapam opposed the 1956 Israeli attack on Egypt enjoying the blessings of Ahdut Avoda. (68)

The Communist Party:

~~The Party was formed a few months before the~~

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(65). Ibid., p.81

(66). Don Peretz, (fn.50), p.284

(67). Facts About Israel, 1968, p.80.



It was established in Palestine in the early 1920's, primarily as an instrument to encourage Arab resistance to British imperialism and Zionism.<sup>(69)</sup> It was founded by the Russian Jews who broke with Paole Zion<sup>(70)</sup> Smole because of its "nationalist orientation". Basing on Marxist-Leninist ehtory, aims at socialism in Israel, It works for peace, independence and neutrality,<sup>(71)</sup> democracy and social progress. The Communist Party has become one of the champions of the rights of the Arab minority in Israel and one of its strong-holds is the Arab city of Nazareth.<sup>(72)</sup>

#### The Liberal Party:

The Party was formed a few months before the 1961 Knesset elections, represents the General Zionists and the Progressives. From 1952 until June 1955 the General Zionists were members of the government in 1955 elections they lost strength, mainly to the right-wing

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(69). Walter Laqueur, Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East (New York, Praeger, 1956), pp.73-119

(70). Don Peretz (fn.59), p.285.

(71). Eisenstadt (fn.64), p.292.

(72). Ibid., pp.289-290.

Herut (Freedom Party). In 1965 there took place a split in the Liberal Party. "Its great majority (almost all the former General Zionists and some former Progressives) founded a parliamentary block with Herut which received about 21 per cent of the votes. A minority consisting most of former Progressives - founded the 'Independent Liberal Party' which received about 7 per cent of the votes."<sup>(72)</sup>

The Herut Party:

It is a right-wing offshoot of General Zionism, and became Israel's second largest party between 1955 and 1961. The founder of the Revisionists from which Herut grew, Vladimir Jabotinsky, was a romantic figure much attracted by the volatile careers of Garibaldi, Mazzini, and D'Annunzio.<sup>(73)</sup> In 1949 elections Herut emerged as the third largest party with fourteen seats in the Knesset and polled 11.5 per cent of the popular vote. In 1965 Herut founded together with a great part of the Liberals a parliamentary block (Gahal) which, received<sup>(74)</sup> about 21 per cent of the votes.

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(72). Ibid., pp.289-290

(73). Don Peretz (fn.50), p.286

(74). Eisenstadt (fn.64), pp.290-291

The Zionist Religious Parties:

These parties are marked by a growing shift from Mizrahi (based mainly on diaspora elements) to Hapoel Hamizrahi (more firmly rooted in Israel), founded in 1956 with the aims: 1) to promote the ethical and social values of Judaism in the life of the State; 2) to develop the constructive work of religious settlement, education, trade union activities and absorption of immigrants. (75)

ARAB MINORITY IN ISRAEL

After the creation of the State in Palestine, the Jewish forces unleashed a reign of terror on the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian Arabs who fled toward neighbouring Arab countries, leaving behind only a very few people to live in the Israeli held territories.

According to the Jewish estimate made on August 3, 1949 (during the Lozan discussion) the number of Arab minority was only 160,000 but today their number is estimated about 250,000 people.

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(75). Facts about Israel, 1968, p.81

Since the State of Israel was created on racial basis, the Arab minority was subjected to the most severe harassment (the general opinion after carving Israel was that it would not be in the interest of the Jewish State if these Arabs were allowed to remain where they were).<sup>(76)</sup> The Israeli policy was based on complete discrimination between Jews and Arabs who are treated as second class citizens. Perhaps the most harassing treatments meted out to the Arabs is their submission to the military Governors used by Israel to annihilate, humiliate and terrorise the Arab minority. Their areas are governed by emergency laws and any Arab cannot move to any other place without taking a special permission from the Israeli military Governor which is issued only after thorough enquiry. After receiving such permission no Arab can break his journey for rest or any other purposes, otherwise he will be put under military trial.

Not only that Arabs are subjected to racial discrimination, but often the sacred religious places of Christians and Muslims are sacrileged. For example, the Jews have occupied the historical Mausoleum of Maman

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(76). Haaslam Hazeh (Jerusalem), November 30, 1950.

al-Lah wherein lie buried the 70,000 martyrs who laid their lives in Jerusalem at the time of the crusade.

## CHAPTER VII

### WORLD JEWRY AND ISRAEL

The Zionist society with all its infrastructure - the Councils and Organisations - was built during the period 1917-1948. The climax came in 1948 when power shifted from the British Protectorate Government to another Government that had a de facto existence since long back. The Hebrew University had been set up in 1925, the National Theatre, educational set-up on all levels, army, trade unions, Histadrut and Weizmann Institute for Higher Education were opened in 1947. So the establishment of the state in 1948 was nothing more than the continuation of this process. During this period two main Jewish Organizations were very active.

#### Jewish National Council:

This Council was formed in 1920 to represent the Palestinian Jews and look after their interests. It had paid much attention to the development of a Jewish society and always insisted that the Jewish should rely upon themselves and not on the Arabs.

#### Jewish Agency:

Presently the executive arm of the World Zionist Organisation, the Jewish Agency for Israel was founded in 1897,

aimed as an instrument through which the world Jewry could fulfill its mission, viz., building up a national home for the Jews in Palestine. The Protectorate Government had officially recognised this Agency (vide provision 4 of the Protectorate Constitution). The aim and object of this Agency was the creation of a national State in Palestine and organization of Jewish migration<sup>(1)</sup> toward it. This Agency was working as a liaison between the protectorate Government, Palestine and world Jews. The Agency was virtually a government within a government. It lacked only sovereignty otherwise it had its own huge budget, an administrative machinery like the "Knesset", its secret army, the Haganah. It had not only trained the farmers all over the world, but assisted them to get jobs in Palestine. Similarly, it set up a number of agricultural colonies and supervised the rehabilitation works in Palestine. Besides, it had set up special offices for information and propaganda, census, trade and industry.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1). Judah Matras, Israel's New Frontier: The Urban Periphery, p.5 in Curtis, M. Chael & Chertoff S. Mordecai, Israel: Social Structure and Change (Transaction Books, New Jersey, 1973).

(2). Don Peretz, The Middle East Today (New York, 1963), p.286; See also Eisenstadt, S.N. Israeli Society (New York, 1967), p.25.

The clearest exposition or betrayal of the facts enumerated above was provided in 1948 when the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency became Israel's Cabinet, while the same administration took over the administrative services of Israel. Ben Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel has been serving as Chairman of this Agency. Moshe Shertok, Political Secretary of the Agency was appointed as Foreign Minister of Israel and Eliezer Kaplan became Finance Minister.<sup>(3)</sup>

Zangwill:

According to Israeli claims, it is a "Zionist Minority" working under an assumed name of "Jewish Territorial Organization". Its aim was to search for a land other than that of Palestine for the establishment of an independent centre comprising the Jews who either did not want to live or no longer could live in their respective countries. The colonization of Bukhara was under the active consideration of this Organization for a long time, but the sudden outbreak of the World War in 1914 forced it to abandon this plan.

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See

- (3). /Don Peretz (fn.2). See also David Ben-Gurion, Israel: Years of Challenge (New York, 1963), p.22.
- (4). Alfred Lilienthal, What Price Israel? (Beirut, 1969), p.167. See Ben Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State (Harvard, 1961), p.154.



Zionism which had camouflaged itself under various covers until World War I, was making an all-out effort to colonize Palestine or any other neighbouring country. This was the policy of a great majority of its leaders who attended the conference held in 1911. After that the leadership shifted to the "Palestinian Zionists" band. This group was working on their plan with complete secrecy, and, to remove any doubt about its real intentions, it managed to pass several resolutions at the various Zionist conferences held between 1911 and 1927 in which they declared categorically that the Zionists were working or would start work to establish a Jewish State in Palestine. The Chairman of the Congress held in 1911 stated in his inaugural address:

The aim and object of Zionism is establishment of a nation for the Jews in Palestine - a nationality claimed by them and guaranteed by law - a nation in the land of our ancestors - not a Jewish homeland - where he can live as a Jew without any restriction or fear. Our demand is only that the refugee Jews should be granted Palestinian nationality without any pre-conditions and they should be

allowed to live according to the Jewish laws without any restriction. We want only this and nothing more." (5)

A committee under the chairmanship of Chaim Weizmann comprising British Foreign Ministry's representatives was formed in March 1918 which visited Palestine and passed through Cairo also. In the meantime seven Arab leaders including Rafiq al-Azm, Kamal al-Kassab, Mukhtar al-Sulh, Abdur Rehman Shander, Khalid al-Hakim, Fawzi al-Bakri and Hamadah presented their historical memorandum demanding that Britain should stand firmly on the plan prepared for Iraq, Syria and Palestine. The British Government replied through Hogawth and Walrond on June 16, 1918, which was termed by a historian as a very important political statement released by Great Britain to explain its policy vis-a-vis the  
(6)  
Arabs.

Its importance is manifested by the fact that it deals with Britain's past commitments to the Arabs

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Mahmud Kamil Al Mohami  
(5). / Al-Dawlat al-Arabiya Al-Kubra (The Great Arab Empire),  
p. 303.

(6). Ibid., p. 313; See also George Antonious, The Arab Awakening, p. 380.

in very clear terms and most important is that it gives official explanations of those principles on which these commitments were based.

According to the strategic demands of the region the British Foreign Ministry had laid down its policy towards this region and divided it into four zones. The statement issued in reply of these great seven leaders gave Iraq, Syria and Palestine a very prominent place:

- (1) Apart from liberating this region, Great Britain is working and will work for its complete liberty and independence.
- (2) Britain assures that it will not instal any Government which will not be acceptable to the people of the region. Since only a few months back, Mr. Wilson had called for self-determination for the region, the Arabs welcomed these two reaffirmations for the region, on their face value. They were in no doubt that Great Britain would act as soon as the War was over, on this principle in this Turkish occupied region.

The Zionist Action Committee comprising three British, one French, three Italian and one Jewish observer from U.S.A. that visited Palestine in April 1918 to see the conditions prevailing in Jewish colonies and to supervise the repair works for the damages caused by War resulted into the formation of a parallel Government run by five Zionist leaders. Among them, one was appointed in Cairo, the second in Alexandria and the third in Port Said. This Jewish parallel administration was fully determined to play its independent role to lay the foundation for a modern state. The british military officials had realised from the very beginning that they could not work with this Zionist administration. In his dispatch to London the same year, the military chief officer admitted that:

"It would be wrong to think that the Muslims and Christians will believe that we have fulfilled our past guarantees regarding the maintenance of status quo in the

region. All the facts like recognition of Hebrew as the official language, setting up of Jewish court and formation of a Zionist Committee which work as a full-fledged government go against it. I think for the peace and development and even for the Zionist interest also this Zionist committee must be dissolved."<sup>(7)</sup>

It would be recalled that Montefiore had visited Palestine several times and was enchanted as a pilgrim, with its tradition laden atmosphere. To him Palestine seemed to be an appropriate place as a sanctuary for the depressed Jews of Russia. He financed a number of social and economic ventures to explore the possibilities and potentialities of the land, not as a "homeland" for a "Jewish people" but as a sanctuary for the endangered Jews of Eastern Europe. A more or less similar enterprise

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(7). M.F. Abcarines, Palestine Through the Fog of Propaganda, p.45; The document of the British Leadership No.5764 also dittoed the statement.

was undertaken by Baron Edmund Rothschild to turn Palestine into a possible future home for some of these tormented humans.<sup>(8)</sup> He also financed and supervised colonization projects though in a more systematic and schematic way.

The first serious attempt at colonization in Palestine, however, took place in the 1880's.<sup>(9)</sup> Yet, there was hardly any coordination or synthesis between the efforts aimed at this rescue operation and those at formulating a new political philosophy for the Jews everywhere. The Jews who went to Palestine had not yet made a clear choice between retaining the citizenship of another land or becoming the first exhibits of a reconstituted Jewish nation. The primary need of the immigrant Jew then was, as it is today refuge and hardly any thing more.

Theodor Herzl who, in 1896, issued "Ushara" proclaiming Zionist movement as racist, defined its

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(8). Elmer Berger, The Jewish Dilemma (New York, 1946), p.62.

(9). Ibid., p.68

aims as:

- (1) Creation of national consciousness among the Jews;
- (2) Bring about unity among the Jews of Palestine;
- (3) Jewish immigration into Palestine from all parts of the world; and
- (4) Safeguarding Zionist existence in Palestine and expansion along the following lines:
  - (i) Work towards the colonization of Palestine through agricultural and industrial activity;
  - (ii) Organising world Jewry and maintaining periodic contacts with local organizations within the framework laws obtaining in various countries;
  - (iii) Strengthening and sustaining of national consciousness among the Jews; and
  - (iv) Taking preliminary steps to secure official support vital for the realisation of Zionist aims.

Herzl proposed the formation of two organizations to implement his idea. One was to be known as

the Society of Jews to which we welcome all such as were interested in his idea of the Jewish nation. "The Society of Jews will do the preparatory work in the domains of science and politics..". The other organization known as the Jewish Company, was to comprise "Practical" men who would turn to practical usage the work of the Society. (10)

In his The Jewish State Herzl made a forceful attempt to clarify his thinking on the issue. He admits nursing the further hope that "This pamphlet will open a general discussion on the Jewish question... and hoped that some time in future, as a result of that discussion his Society of Jews and his Jewish Company would serve as the infra-structure for the building up of the Jewish State. (11)

The first edition of The Jewish State was warmly received by a group of nationalistically minded Jews who were known as the Kadimah Society. The

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(10). Ibid., p.73.

(11). Herzl, The Jewish State



group wrote to Herzl urging him to make the founding of his Society of Jews a reality. It was proposed, however, that the head office of the Society be located in London, the same England to which Herzl had thought it necessary to make special reference in order to prove the fallacy of emancipation.

Herzl went to London, and with the active assistance of Israel Zangwill, he first presented his ideals to an audience of emancipated Jews. Nevertheless, when the Jewish State was published, the London Jewish Chronicle became an important medium for publicizing it. It had a great impact and brought Herzl's proposals to the attention of both Jews and Christians all over the world and, as Herzl had hoped, the publication of the ideas precipitated a discussion of the Jewish question.

On April 21, 1896, Baron de Hirsch died and Herzl wrote in his diary, "Hirsch died and I enter on negotiations with princess." (12)

There were many turns in the international scene, one, or a combination of which might lead to the grant-

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(12). Ibid.

ing of such a charter. Herzl pursued them all. Besides, he reasoned, he must impress those who were to follow him, and one way to impress them was to let it be known to them that he was being received by important government officials of the day.

In the diplomatic prize-hunt there was first of all "the sickman" of Europe, Turkish Empire, on the verge of dissolution. In this arena, money was one tool which Herzl began to use skillfully. The "Jewish Wealth" in his scheme of things, was to be used against the Turkish debt which might add up to a charter for Palestine. A sum of twenty million pounds sterling was thrown in as a feeler. Another step was to take advantage of the Sultan's desire to soften European criticism of his Armenian policy, since committees were being organised throughout the Continent in support of the Armenians. It was, therefore, suggested to Herzl that perhaps Jewish influence might undermine their agitation and thus have some bearing on the much desired charter. Then there was England, waiting impatiently for the disintegration of the Turkish Empire and not unwilling

to profit from even by acquiring a buffer state in Syria, which included Palestine. There was also Germany, well advanced in its Drang nach Osten, and perhaps in that direction, Herzl thought, he might find the course upon which the Jewish ship of state would sail.

Herzl attempted to act as an intermediary between "Jewish Wealth" and the Turkish need. He sought the help of influential British and French Jews to aid him in quietening the European agitation on behalf of the Armenians. Through a Christian he secured an audience with the Grand Duke of Baden. This was to be a stepping-stone to an interview with the Kaiser himself. To the Grand Duke, Herzl promised the "denunciation of radical propaganda in Europe, in proportion to the development of national effort among Jews". For each, Herzl had an offer; from each he sought a charter to Palestine "the Jewish People".<sup>(13)</sup>

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(13). Berger (fn.8), p.71.

The year 1896 was a year of failure for Herzl's plan to secure his charter was concerned. This was inevitable, for Herzl had not recognized with Ahad Ha'am, that there was no "Jewish People". He, however, continued shuttling between the capitals of Europe throughout the year, though like a general without an army, claiming that it was the most opportune moment to acquire Palestine for the Jews.

In March 1897, the first call went forth for the holding of a representative Zionist Congress at Munich on August 25, the same year, following which there were to be elections of delegates among Jews all over the world. The medieval concept of corporate Jewish life was emerging again - this time at the volition of Jews.<sup>(14)</sup>

Lest it be construed that all was well with Herzl's plan, it <sup>may</sup> be pointed out that voices of dissent were to be heard every now and then. Men and organizations that had been assisting Jewish colonization in Palestine for two decades and more were

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(14). Walter Laqueur, History of Zionism (London, 1972), p.103.

apprehensive. They had been and were still willing to save the Jews. They were, however, not prepared to be faced with a fait accompli in which their support and interest would confront them with the creation of a Jewish "Nation" and "State", - the terms invented and advocated by the Zionists alone - and a return to pre-emancipation life patterns. Herzl's insistence to go ahead with his plan threatened a split in the supporters of Palestinian colonization, but he would not relent.

It may be mentioned here that nationalism usually develops in countries that are simmering under alien rule. The Jews were no subject people in their native land rising against a foreign oppressor. Hence "the latent impulse of the mass of Jews in extremity was not to reveal - but to take flights, to emigrate." Ideological differences, therefore, were quite evident between the Eastern and Western Jews regarding Zionism, which were non-existent at the time when the movement to emancipate the Jews began in the late eighteenth century.

While in the West, Zionists and their opponents who were divided over the national character of the problems "of the Jews" and of "Judaism", could unite in their practical concern for the settlement in Palestine, to the East, it was a matter of dispute. (15)

In July 1897, the leading rabbis of Germany issued a protest against the Congress. They were brushed aside as "protest rabbis". Finally, the Jews of Munich objected publicly to the holding of the Congress in that City and it was decided to change the venue of the meeting to Basle, Switzerland, and the dates set for August 29-31.

The Congress was attended by 197 delegates - most of them from east of the Danube. The speeches went on for two days. Most of them had to be translated. Herzl himself was unable to understand quite a large number of the delegates, and they were unable to understand Herzl. It was, however, decided on the

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(15). See Halpern (fn.4).

concluding day of the Congress that a World Zionist Organization be formed and a constitution designed  
(16)  
for the Organization.

The first Zionist Congress did not hold great promise. It was convened by default of any organized opposition. The Congress nonetheless succeeded in recreating the entity of medieval Jewry, the concept of corporate community - a separate nationality group. It established also the World Zionist Organization. Out of the Congress came what has ever since been known as the Basle Programme - the official programme of the movement - the unalter-  
(17)  
able basis of Zionism:

Zionism seeks to secure for the Jewish people a publicly recognised, legally secured home in Palestine for the Jewish people. For the achieve-

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(16). Laqueur (fn.14).

(17). Ibid., p.106; See also Charles Douglas-Home, The Arabs and Israel (London, 1968), p.16. See also Berger, (fn.8), p.86. See also Laqueur (ed), The Israel Arab Reader, (London, 1969), pp.28-29.

ment of its purpose the Congress envisaged the following methods:

1. The Programmatic encouragement of the settlement of Palestine with Jewish agricultural workers, labourers and those pursuing other trades.

2. The unification and organisation of all Jewry into local and wide groups in accordance with the laws of their respective countries.

3. The strengthening of Jewish self-awareness and national consciousness.

4. Preparatory steps to obtain the consent of the various governments necessary for the fulfilment of the aims of Zionism.

The Basle programme remains today as the classical and basic statement of Zionism. Every member of the Zionist Organization must subscribe to its principles as he joins the Zionist movement. (18)

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(18). Berger (fn.8), p.86.



Meanwhile, Zionism was plagued by lack of funds. Herzl considered his Congress as the coming into being of his "Society of Jews", but the creation of the "Jewish Company" was yet an unfulfilled task. This is evident from his reply which he sent to Nordan in Paris on the latter's suggestion that a loan for forty million francs to Turkey might bring forth a concession "to colonize 10,000 square Kilometers of Palestine." Herzl wrote, "Alas! we cannot get the rich scamps and our company does not yet exist."<sup>(19)</sup>

The "Jewish Colonial Bank" was to be set up with two million pounds "employed to purchase land and settlement" or would be directly spent on<sup>(20)</sup> colonization projects. It was to be a commercial banking business, and with it Herzl hoped to be able to enter the field of international finance and to use

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(19). Ibid., p.86.

(20). Walter Lehn, "The Jewish National Fund", article in Journal of Palestine Studies (Institute of Palestine Studies and Kuwait University, Vol.111 No.4 (Summer 1974), p.79.

it as an economic political lever for obtaining the charter to Palestine.

In the spring of 1898, at the Zionist Executive Committee convened in Vienna, 400  
(21)  
delegates came to Herzl's second Congress, which adjourned after achieving more paper victories. Herzl's bank idea was approved. Future work for Palestine was more firmly under the imprimature of Jewish nationalism and Herzl began to publicise the name of David Wolffsohn as his heir apparent. The checking of colonization by "infiltration" was made more effective and came as a proof of Herzl's total victory.

The political question arose again when Herzl and Wolffsohn began to carry out the mandate of the Second Congress for the creation of the Bank, which was to be established in London. The emancipated British Jewry objected to the creation of an institution that would represent a Jewish nation. During the controversy that followed,

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(21). Laqueur (fn.17), p.108; See also Berger, (fn.8), p.87.

Herzl wrote to Wolffsohn: "The important thing is not that the Bank is established, but that it is so established that it will secure our movement as a fitting instrument for political Zionism and so remain". The Bank came into being as "The Jewish Colonial Trust."<sup>(22)</sup>

The Third Congress was one of the most important events in the history of Jewish nationalism. Even those who were critical of Herzl for his anti-democratic attitude could not dismiss the results of this Congress as "Hazy ecstasy" or the machinations of a "pseudo-messiah".<sup>(23)</sup> It was through the third Congress that the World Zionist Organization took a definite and tangible shape, which helped bind together the little Zionist societies scattered all over the world.

In 1900, there were 50,000 oppressed Rumanian Jews who took to the highways of Europe in a mass migration. They were stopped at every border. Nordaw, who, for three Congresses had been the official lamenter for the oppressed Jews, strongly favoured this mass migration of the Rumanians, who were wandering with their baggage

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(22). Laqueur, (fn.17), pp 113, 123

(23). Berger (fn.8), p.93.

age in search of shelter but to whom all gates seemed to have closed.

A series of negotiations took place with Turkey during the year 1901 that were to be carried on for the balance of Herzl's life. Turkey was in need of money and Herzl maintained that the Jews provide it in exchange for concessions to Jewish nationalism in Palestine. In May that year Herzl met the Sultan, and for the next four years there followed the wildest, most baffling game of tragico-mic high finance imaginable. The Western powers were not so concerned about the bankruptcy of Turkey, and therefore the latter could not secure assistance elsewhere.

The third Congress had displeased Herzl and lulled anti-nationalist Jews into sleep as it had no political victory in Palestine to report. Zionism was becoming a disciplined movement. It was made the replica of a national assembly; it now contained within its fold several political parties - all supporters of Jewish nationalism. The only difference being that

they pursued their objectives through different means and wanted it for different purposes. There was, for instance, the religious-orthodox group called Mizrachi, composed of that segment of Russian orthodoxy that tried to reconcile Zionism's diplomatic efforts with the Messianic idea of a return to Zion. It was argued that the Zionists would thus help God realize his plan.

There was also the "Kulture" group. This group drew its strength largely from youth, the devotees of Ahad Hasam, interested in the statehood of Jews in order to revive the idea of a Jewish nation in the midst of other nations.

There were the Practical Zionists, who persisted in attempts to colonize and settle in Palestine and to exploit its economic potentialities. This work, they believed, would then lead to a more sound basis upon which the legal assurances of Jewish national rights in Palestine could be secured in accordance with the Basle Programme.

The most important contribution of the Fifth

Congress was that it established the Jewish National Fund. The money collected through this Fund was to be used to purchase land in Palestine. The Jewish National Fund had invested over thirty million dollars in land in Palestine, of which the American Jewry contributed a substantial amount of more than twelve million. The purchase of one hundred forty-seven thousand acres of land was effected through this amount. The original contributors to the Jewish National Fund were largely members of the oppressed Jewish citizenry of the Central and Eastern European countries. The primary source of this revenue, for many long years, was to be found in tiny blue and white boxes that hung in millions of Jewish homes, and, at regular intervals, collectors passed from door to door all over the world to collect the contributions.

The Jewish National Fund has now evolved into a "big" financial institution. In America it operates in unison with philanthropic efforts aimed as

rescue and refuge for the Jews. The Federation of these combined fund-raising efforts - of which the Jewish National Fund is a part - is known as the United Jewish Appeal. The Jewish National Fund, like Herzl's Bank, was designed to secure the nationalistic ideal in Zionism. The first role and the principal aim of the Jewish National Fund, was to acquire the soil of Palestine as national and inalienable property. The urge of the Zionist movement to re-establish the union between the people and the land of Israel was always behind the operations of the Jewish National Fund ever since its founding. The land purchased by the Fund thus became the inalienable property of "The Jewish people" to help them secure their national right in Palestine. The more land the Jewish people owned, the greater their claim to recognition of national sovereignty over the whole of Palestine. This was how the Zionists reasoning proceeded.

An important aspect of the land purchase scheme project was that the land so acquired must not be sold to individuals. It was leased after the first five years of

occupancy, the lessee paid rent at the rate of between one and two per cent of the assessed value of the land. The contract provided that the land should never be rented to a person who was not a Jew and that, if the holder of a lease died and left no Jewish heir, the right of reclaiming title was obtained by the Jewish National Fund. Moreover, the leases specifically provided that no labour other than Jewish should be employed upon the land. The lessee would agree that "if and whenever he may be obliged to hire help, he will hire Jewish workmen only". By default, anti-nationalist Jews are compressed within the form of Jewish nationalism in order to help distressed human beings who happen to be Jews.

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The sixth Congress (Basle, August, 1903) saw the first fierce struggle between some of the new factions in Zionism. It also saw the first withdrawal of important figures from the Zionist movement. The struggle was precipitated by a new attempt on the

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(24). Lehn (fn.20), p.809. See also Halpern, (fn.4), p.29.



part of Herzl to capitalize on friendly interests in England, and to throw in Zionism's destiny with British colonial ambitions.

Success was eluding Herzl in his great role as an intermediary between Turkish bankruptcy and the banking facilities of the Rothschilds and other West European Jews. During negotiations with Turkey, Palestine seemed as far away as ever, and therefore consideration was being given to places other than Palestine. Even Herzl, devoid of religious attachments, had not held steadfastly the idea of Palestine as a nationalist goal. "One Congress had considered a proposal for Jewish colonization of the island of Cyprus. Another had considered the possibility of the Sinai Peninsula, with perhaps a "Little bit of Palestine".<sup>(25)</sup>

Circumstances made it necessary for England to withdraw the offer of territory in Sinai Peninsula. It had also passed a law restricting immigration into Britain, and to the public hearings on this immigration law, it had invited Herzl as a witness, an invitation

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(25). Berger (fn.8), p.101.

that had come as a surprise to the emancipated Jews of England. How far these facts had any bearing on the offer of a territory in Uganda in British East Africa has not yet been fully explored.

Herzl had urged consideration of Uganda at the Congress to impress the delegates with the status of Zionism. Also the Congress provided the sounding board against which he could proclaim the advanced status of Zionism to the world. The "Jewish Nation" had received an offer. Government would negotiate it. He was interested because the Uganda offer was a device "with which we must force the hands of the rich Jews. They object to Palestine, we pave the way for building a new Jewish autonomy in East Africa. Now we will put them to test. Let us accept and let them reject East Africa. That will be our capital asset. Eine Schach Zug! Eine Schach!  
(26)  
(A capital chess move)"

Herzl embarrassed some of the emancipated Jews into saying, "We are content to wait (for Palestine) on the single vision which cannot be schemed for and by (the hope for emancipation) which the Ghettoes survived till the days of the exile be ended. "They opposed an organized

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(26). Berger, (fn.8), p.103.

movement with a diffused hope. He forced the Jewish Colonization Association, which had been founded by the de Hirsch fortune, to ask for guarantees that the Uganda project would represent "no political undertaking".<sup>(27)</sup>

The Uganda proposal came in for severe criticism at the Seventh Congress and was finally rejected. On July 3, 1904, Herzl died. He was buried in Austria, the country which he had lived.

The Seventh Congress (Basle, July-August 1905): The net assets were reported to have grown £41,997 and the save 200 dunums of land,<sup>(28)</sup> and the arguments between the practical and political Zionists again surfaced.<sup>(29)</sup> The Seventh Congress put on record as rejecting "unplanned, unsystematic, and philanthropic small-scale colonization, which does not fall within the scope of point 1 of the Basle Programme."<sup>(30)</sup>

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(27). Ibid., pp.103-104

(28). Stenographisches Protokoll der verhandlungen des VII. Zionists-Kongresses und des Ausserordentlichen Kongress in Basel, 27 Juli Bis 2. Aug, 1905 (Berlin, 1905), pp.224-225.

(29). Lehn (fn.20), p.81.

(30). Point 1 of the Basle Programme called for, "the promotion on suitable lines of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish farmers, craftsmen and manufacturers". See Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des VII op.cit.238. See Lehen, Walter, op. cit., p.81.

The insistence upon Palestine drove a wedge between the rank and file of the Zionists and took bodies like Israel Zangwill out of the fold of Zionism. It also led to the creation by the latter of an organization known as the Jewish Territorial Organization. The organization proposed to pursue all of the political and diplomatic practices of Zionism, except that it would not insist upon Palestine. Alternatively, it would accept "a territory upon an autonomous basis."

After Herzl's death, the influence of "Kulture" group increased. Zionism was unable to create a State in Palestine, but it was influencing Jews in many nations of the world, and the capital of Zionism was moved from Vienna to Cologne the native city of Herzl's successor Wolffsohn. There was another reason for moving Jewish headquarters of the movement to Germany. German universities had a large number of Jewish students from Poland and Russia, and while German Jewry had resisted Zionism strenuously from the days of the "protest rabbis", these students from

Eastern Europe made a kind of Trojan Horse.

The centre of Zionist activity, thus, seemed to have shifted to Germany where Zionism gained a sounding board through the active mobilization of the students who were in the forefront of the movement.

This move was later to involve Zionism in difficulties when World War I came to put members of this fictional "Jewish People" in the armies of both of the coalitions of states that fought the War. Zionist headquarters had therefore to move to Copenhagen. To complicate the scene further, an English citizen, Chaim Weizmann, emerged as the leader of the World Zionist Organization.

The Zionist world went into ecstasy when in 1913 Edmond de Rothschild, an uncompromising anti-nationalist visited Palestine. Zionism claimed for credit/the achievements and used Rothschild's commendations to advance Jewish nationalism.

During the War, Zionism was uncertain which

of the alliances of nations involved in the War would win and the Great Powers were wooing the fiction of a "Jewish People" that Herzl and his disciples had created. Turkey and Germany both made offers to Zionist representatives along the lines of a chartered company like the one Herzl had discussed with Kaiser when they had met in Constantinople.

British diplomacy, however, was more astute than that of the Central Powers. For many years, France, Russia, and England had been contemplating the fall of Turkey and the division of her Empire. The situation offered a long-awaited opportunity. A British Army under General Allenby began a vigorous campaign that culminated in the capture of Jerusalem in 1917. This shifted the centre of Jewish nationalistic activity to London.

Chaim Weizmann was a Russian Jew by birth who had come to make England his home; he was a chemist by profession. He perfected an important technique for the manufacture of TNT during the last War. He declined to accept any personal reward from the British Government for his discovery but asked the latter to

seriously consider some commitment to the "Jewish people" with regard to Palestine.

Weizmann had been an active Zionist for years. He had attended the Congresses as a delegate and has opposed Herzl on the Uganda proposition. To him Zionism meant Palestine. He had organized the the first party in Zionism known as "The Democratic Faction". This party opposed the autocratic character of Herzl's leadership and his constant emphasis upon diplomacy and the charter. It was full-blooded, Jewish nationalistic group which, in the spirit of Ahad Ha'am was interested in the intensification of Jewish nationalism among all Jews no matter where they lived. This group believed that the Jewish State would come into being in course of time and they were in no hurry.

Lloyd George was frank to admit that the sudden interest in Jews and Palestine and Jewish nationalism was "due to propagandist reasons. The Palestine Royal Commission Report of 1937 states that Lloyd George "outlined the serious position in which the Allied and associate powers were then (1917). The Rumanians

had been crushed. The Russian Army was demoralized. The French Army was unable at the moment to take the offensive on a large scale. The Italians had sustained a great defeat at Caporetto. Millions of tons of British shipping had been sunk by German submarines. No American divisions were yet available in the trenches.

In this critical situation it was believed that Jewish sympathy or the reverse would make a substantial difference one way or the other to the Allied cause.

In particular, Jewish sympathy would confirm the support of American Jews. Lloyd George then continued: "The Zionist leaders gave us a definite promise that if the Allies committed themselves to giving facilities for the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, they would do their best to rally Jewish sentiment and support throughout the world to the Allied cause. They kept their word.

The Jews participated in the War as Americans or British on the one hand, and as Germans or Austrians on the other side.



Chaim Weizmann could repeat Herzl's boast on the occasion of the Uganda offer: Government would negotiate, with Jews. The Zionist purpose was achieved, no matter what were the aspirations of the millions of common people of Jewish faith. Zionists were memorialising the British Government with a series of statements setting forth their interests in Palestine. The battle was fought on all fronts. In America, Justice Brandeis, taking full advantage of his personal friendship with Woodrow Wilson, urged the latter to lend support to the Zionist demands. In 1916, Weizmann could declare before a conclave of British Zionists: "I am entitled to state in this assembly that His Majesty's Government is ready to support our plans."

In public statements in the London Times the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association protested "against the upbuilding of Palestine on a political basis". But Jewish nationalism had done its work too well. It was

too late effectively to oppose a permanent organization by hastily throwing together shock troops of emancipated  
(31)  
Jews.

On November 2, 1917, the British Government issued a declaration, which came to be known after the name of its author as the Balfour Declaration.

The sequence of events preceding the Declaration ran thus. The separation of Palestine from Syria met the Zionist need only half way. An international control in Palestine was not to Zionist liking, but Russian and French interests in the country had somehow to be circumvented. The Russian withdrawal from the War solved the problem only partly. France, had however, still remained.

In March 1917, Balfour suggested to Weizmann that if France could not be otherwise satisfied perhaps an Anglo-American protectorate could be arranged. Weizmann objected to such a proposition as a plan like this would create too many difficulties. Instead, Nahum Sokolov, one of Weizmann's aides went to Paris

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(31). Berger (fn.8), p.114.

and by the end of April succeeded in convincing French statesmen to agree that "an Allied victory in the Middle East would mean recognition of Zion-  
(32)  
ism."

From now on the Zionist policy became transparently clear. It would seek a "British Protectorate over Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine". In May 1917, Balfour came to America. Here he saw Brandies, who in turn had the ear of Wilson. Meanwhile Weizmann was keeping Brandies posted about the developments on the other side. "England", he wrote, "was not yearning to annex Palestine, and would hardly care to oppose the internationalization, which would be fatal to Zionist hopes...Hence, Zionist policy must be to keep to that simple demand for a British Protectorate, rejecting all other schemes which would tend to raise fresh jealousies, and bring about some joint control. The American Zionists grasped the point. A Jewish national diplomacy was in being". Balfour returned to England in June. Weizmann prevailed

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(32). Ibid., p.124

upon Lord Walter Rothschild to accompany him to 10 Downing Street, where negotiations entered a crucial stage.

The proposed formula, recognizing Jewish national rights in Palestine, was vigorously opposed in the Cabinet by Edwin Montague, Secretary of State for India.

This was how the concerted efforts of the Zionists, the non-Zionists, and the anti-Zionists continued. Sometimes consciously and at times unconsciously. With the passage of time, the participants in this drama seem to converge on a common point, that is a Jewish National State in Palestine.

#### Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights

The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights is one of the very few Jewish organizations working publicly in Israel for a true and creative Jewish-Arab solidarity. The League was founded in 1935 with the original aim of defending the human rights of Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate in Palestine. In the course of time, and due to political and military developments connected with the creation of Israel in

1948 and thereafter, the League took over new aims and tasks within the scope of its activities. To-day, the League seems mainly concerned with the human rights of Arabs living under Israeli control. After 1967, when the real aims of Zionist strategy and Israeli policy were most clearly exposed in the newly occupied Arab territories, the League intensified its activities by launching a critical information campaign over Israel's policy and practices against the Palestinians. In 1942, the Israeli Government took indirect measures to stop or moderate the League's activities. Since then the position of the League has become more difficult. Its active members are threatened by suppressive measures and accused of "pro-Arabism" because they accepted "many Arabs as members in the League."<sup>(38)</sup>

The texture of this movement by its very character inherently precluded the existence of non-Jews as equals in a Jewish State. Amidst this multitude of organization of different hues and colour, but basically Jewish or Zionist, there was at least one organization which could rise above chauvinistic

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(38). Ahmed Adnan, Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights (The Shahak paper, Beirut), p.5.

Jewish nationalism and raise its voice in favour of human rights as such. This discussion shall not project a complete picture if mention is not made of Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights.

#### FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

The Zionists looked to the Jewish capitalists to finance their colonization schemes, beginning with the settlement in Palestine supported by Baron Edmond de Rothschild in the 1880's and 1890's. In 1902 the Jewish National Fund and the Jewish Colonial Trust were established under the aegis of the World Zionist Organization as the Zionist Movement's chief financial instruments. The purpose of the former was to raise funds for the purchase of lands, the latter was set up as a bank with its headquarters in London. Among its stated objectives were "to promote, develop, work and carry on industries, undertakings and colonization schemes", and "to seek for and obtain openings for the employments of capital in Palestine, Syria and any other part of the world" (39)

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(39). Survey of Activities and Financial Report, 1899-1922.

Both appealed to Jewish capitalists as the chief source of funds. Aaron Cohen notes: "As for the Jewish Colonial Trust, in 1908, it had a paid-up capital of £225,000 of which £36,000 was invested in the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Jaffa and another £15,000 in the Anglo-Levantine Banking Company. The Trust's board of directors opposed risking this money in direct investment in Palestine, and gave all too few money grants-in-aid to settlement projects.<sup>(40)</sup>

EXTERNAL SOURCES AND TERRITORIAL EXPANSION:

The territorial expansion is the main logic of the Zionist claim which regards this expansion as essential for the very existence of Israel itself. Bringing all the Jews or a great majority of them from all over the world together in Israel, has always been a declared policy of the Zionists. In point of fact, however, this small State cannot absorb the huge number of 10 million Jews as officially claimed by Levi Eshkol, ex-Prime Minister of Israel, just after the Arab-Israel War of June 1967, to lay

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(40). Aharon Cohen, Israel and the Arab World, p.41

foundation of the Greater Israel by annexing with it the Arab occupied territories. The dream of continuous flow of Jews to Israel in such high proportion that would double its total population cannot come true, because Israel cannot provide even the basic amenities for such a large number of people. The proof of this claim is that the total population of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Arab Palestine does not exceed 80 million people inspite of having very large area for this reason Israel cannot absorb more than two million people if she wants to ensure the standard maintained in European countries as it often claims. The biggest failure of the Zionist experiment in making Israel an ideal "Promised Land" is that its unstable and weak economy which still lacks a viable base, will totally collapse if she succeeds in bringing about total migration of the Jews to Israel. The economic experts have minced no words to leave any doubt in this regard:

The total area of Israel during the truce in 1949 never



exceeded 21,000 square Kilometers - two-thirds of this area being desert. Thus the density of population was comparatively very high. This situation was further aggravated by the fact that 60% of them live in the triangular Ramleh, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, while 30% of them are living in Tel Aviv itself.<sup>(41)</sup>

Israel has tried and is still trying to overcome this problem by designing some expensive irrigation schemes but has failed so far to reclaim the vast land potential available to her. In spite of all these efforts, the contribution of agricultural production in the National income was considerably low which recorded only a marginal improvement from 9.5% in 1949 to 12.5% in 1960,<sup>(42)</sup> i.e. just 3% over a period of 12 years.

There is no doubt that Israel has succeeded in establishing some industries, the Diamond industry ranking first. The existence of this industry depends largely on political and geographical factors.

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(41). Ismail Sabry Abd Allah, Fi Mowagahat Israel (In front of Israel) (Egypt, 1969), pp. 46-47.

(42). Ibid.

Israel imports raw diamonds from South Africa while it sells her finished diamonds to the "World Diamond Monopolies" whose central offices are located in Amsterdam. The Israelis have taken advantage of Dutch Jews who migrated to Israel with all their expertise in shaping and finishing the diamond. This finished diamond which forms 35% of Israel's exports is a clear evidence of the extent to which Israeli industry can go to serve the imperialism, for, the flourishing of the diamond industry largely depends upon the continuous pleasure of the apartheid regime of South Africa alongwith encouraging the Dutch World Monopolies. Similarly, Israel has tried to develop some light industries as clothes, medicines, electronics and electrical apparatus. But the development of Israeli industries is retarded by the availability of only limited local market and the Arab economic boycott which leaves no option with Israel other than to sell her products in the markets of more developed countries. Inspite of all these difficulties Israeli achieved during the period between 1950 to 1965 an economic progress at the rate

of about 11% annually. The Zionists started talking of a miracle made by Israeli intellectuals in achieving this high average ignoring the basic principles that economy has nothing to do with miracles. On the other hand, there are scientific reasons behind every economic phenomenon. As a matter of fact this oft-spoken miracle was possible solely due to the huge financial resources placed at its disposal which find no parallel in the history of any other country. These finances came to her from the following sources:

1. Confiscation of Arab Property:

Israel started her career from the very beginning after the manner of the traditional colonial powers by seizing and confiscating the properties left behind by the Arab Palestinians.

It began in 1948 on the very morning of the Truce, with the seizure of the movable and immovable property of a million Arab refugees under the cover of 'the absorption of abandoned Arab property', though it has been appropriately termed by no less a person than

(43)  
Arnold Tbynbee as 'robbery'. All this was done with utmost secrecy; not even the U.N. Conciliation Commission for Palestine which was responsible for the protection of rights, interests, and property of the Palestine refugees was supplied the actual figures despite repeated reminders to the Government of Israel.  
(44)

However, in his Progress Report Count Bernadotte observed that most of the refugees left practically all their possessions behind, adding that while those who left during the early days of the conflict could carry with them some personal effects and assets, many of the late comers were deprived of every thing except clothes on their person.  
(45)

Almost a similar observation was made later on by Ralph Bunche in his Progress Report, namely, 'that the bulk of the refugees left their homes on foot at short notice taking little or nothing with them'.  
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(43). Arnold J. Toybee, "The Arab Israeli Conflict", The Arizona Republic 18 June 1967.

(44). Don Peretz, Israel and the Palestine Arabs (Washington, 1958), pp. 142-143.

(45). U.N. Document A/648, pp. 14, 47.

(46). U.N. Document A/689, p. 1.

The property left behind by the Arab refugees and seized by Israel Government consists of the following:

(1) An unidentifiable number of cities, towns and villages complete with their contents including furniture, household effects, equipments, goods and other movable property. The wholly Arab cities of Jaffa, Acre, Nazareth, Lydda, Ramleh, Beersheba, Beisan, Majdal, Isdud, Beit Jibrin and Shafa Awr, the Arab sections of the new city of Jerusalem, Haifa, Tiberias, Safad and over eight hundred villages were seized and taken over by Israel.

(ii) Land outside urban areas, including cultivable land covering an area of 6,705,568 dunoms, land planted with citrus having an area of 135,368 dunoms, land planted with olive trees, bananas and other trees having an area of 1,054,065 dunoms and large tracts of grazing land.

(iii) Commercial and industrial property, that includes the rights, assets, goods and equipment of tens of thousand of individuals, companies, partnerships, industrial and commercial establishments, factories, flour mills and workshops and store houses were taken over by the Jews.

(iv) Movable, possessions, and personal effects. (47)

Though it is difficult, rather impossible to assess the value of this property, yet, according to Stephen Pensore, President of the American University of Beirut, the total holdings of the Arabs in Palestine reached the staggering figure of two to three billion pounds standing at the prevalent value in 1948 - certainly for less than the current value.

Its magnitude can be judged by the fact that there were 250,000 Israelis or about one-third of the total population who were making a living by cultivating lands in 1954 left by the Palestinian Arabs. Britain released all the frozen sterling balances due to the Palestinians as of 1948 to help Israel augment its economy.

The quantum of grant that Israel secured over

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(47). Henry Cattani, Palestine, the Arabs and Israel: The Search for Justice, (London, 1969), pp. 73-74.

a period between 1948-1955 are as follows:

a) German Compensation:

West Germany was agreed to sign i.e. in September 10, 1952 an agreement to pay Israel in the course of fourteen years, \$822,000,000,<sup>(49)</sup> or compensation to Israeli nationals for harms done to them or to their families during the Nazi rule. The total amount of such compensation has reached 1,611 million dollars. These compensations have no parallel in the history of international relations.

As far as the principal compensation is concerned, it is approved both by international law and convention. But it is strikingly strange that West Germany has not paid compensation to any country other than Israel. For example, it has not given any compensation to the people of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, France or the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it felt necessary to pay such huge sum of Israel on the assumption that Israel represents the Jews living all over the world

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(49). George Lenzowski, The Middle East in World Affairs (New York, 1956), p. 357.

irrespective of their nationalities.

On 1948-1955, Israel received 1,535 million dollars as contribution from the Jews. The Jewish organization in various parts of the world have given 1,035 million dollars in aid while the remaining 500 million dollars were contributed by Jews living in different parts of the world.<sup>(50)</sup>

C) American Grants-in-Aid:

During the same period 1948-1955, America had gifted away \$367,000,000 to Israel. This compared favourably with the total of \$ 163,000,000<sup>(51)</sup> granted to all the Arab states during the same period. The U.S. Government has not only encouraged its Jewish nationals to make such contributions but has given from the state exchequer direct grants to the Zionist state.

4. Loans and Investments:

The total amount of loans received by Israel during the period from 1950-1964 reached 1,226 million dollars. The break-up of these long-term loans is

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(50). Abdallah, (fn.41), pp.29-30.

(51). Lenzowski (fn.49), p.356.



as under:

(i) 380 millions were granted directly by the U.S. Government through its arms Import and Export Bank.

(ii) 450 million dollars came through bonds issued by the Government of Israel. (52)

Briefly, between the year of its creation till the end of 1955, Israel received an estimated total of \$2,366,000,000 from external sources. This was composed of the following sums (in figures):

- i) \$367,000,000 United States Government aid.
- ii) \$226,000,000 Grants-in-Aid
- iii) \$135,000,000 Export Import Bank Loan
- iv) \$ 6,000,000 Technical Assistance
- v) \$227,000,000 Israel bond sales in U.S.
- vi) \$360,000,000 West German reparations.

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(52). Abdallah (fn.41), p.32.

- vii) \$160,000,000 West German Reparations.  
+  
viii) \$886,000,000 other contributions (gifts, capital investments, etc) from all external sources.

Israel's foreign capital inflow in 1960 came from the following main sources:

	Millions of Dollars -----
United States Grants-in-aid and Technical Assistance	9.7
Reparations from Germany	79.7

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+ These figures were compiled from the following Sources:

Testimony of Arthur Z. Gardiner of the U.S. Department of State before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on May 10, 1954 (New York Times, June 14th, 1954); H.H. Howard, "The Development of United States Policy in the Near East", "Department of State Bulletin, Feb. 28th, 1955, New York Times, Feb. 6th, 1956; Aliezer Livneh, "Israel's Two Thousand Million Dollars - where Have they Gone?" Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, Nov. 19th, 1954; Operations Report, International Cooperation Administration, Nov. 16th, 1955, Dr. Ismail Sabry Abdallah, "F. Mumajahat Israel", and George Lenczowski, "The Middle East in World Affairs.

Restitution from Germany	97.8
Remittance by charitable institutions	69.8
United States Government Loans	28.5
Independence Bonds	29.1
Direct Private Investment	50.3
	----- +
	364.9
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In addition to the massive contribution from the world Jewry a sizeable amount was pumped in the Home economy of Israel, that is the Net Domestic Investment in Israel. First for the two lean years - 1966 and 1967 - it amounted to I£3,200 million. For the following two years, 1968/69, it rose to I£5,000 million and climbed even more steeply for the next two years, 1970/71, when it reached the remarkable total of I£7,700 million. (53)

Foreign financial and industrial concerns - mainly American, Canadian, German and French, and a few British firms - followed in the wake, assisted and encouraged by some of the leading banking houses

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+ These figures were compiled from Nadav Safran, The United States and Israel, (1963), p.178.

(53). Jon Kimche, Palestine or Israel (London, 1973), P.273.

of the United States and Europe. The great majority of these were sponsored by prominent American Jews and such international financial interests as the Warburgs and the Rothschilds. The first Pennsylvania Corporation invested \$16.5 million in setting up the first international banking house in Israel, others invested substantially to establish themselves in Israel were the Ford Motor Company, General Telephone and Electronics, Motorola, Monsanto, Allied Chemicals, Samuel Osborne of Sheffield, Bethlehem Steel, Eagle Star Insurance, Barclays Bank (Discount), Miami Corporation, Sam Rothbery's Israel Investment Corporation, Coca-Cola, Shidlomshi's Aero Engines, The German Trade Union - controlled "Bank fuer Geminuistschaft", the Canadian Broufmen Interests, ITT, ITT, RCA, IBM and California Computers, and many others. (54) By the 1970's Hy invested about \$150 million a year in bringing these new industries and concerns to Israel

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(54). Ibid., p.273

Financial Contribution of World Jewry during 1962-71:

In the year preceding the war, i.e. in 1966, Anglo-Jewry donated £2.5 million (\$7 million), while in the year of the war, i.e. 1967 the amount of contribution shot up to £17 million (45 million \$) from a Jewish community of 400,000;<sup>+</sup>

\* FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION OF WORLD JEWRY  
(DURING 1962-1971) (5)

Source	1962-1966 in millions	1966 in Mill.	1967 in Million	1967-1971 in Millions
Anglo-Jewry's' donated through the Joint Palestine Appeal	£ 11 or \$ 30	£22½ or \$7	£17 or \$45	£32 or just under \$90
United Israel Appeal	\$ 300			Total raised was a billion dollars, \$ 1,000 million.
The Israel Appeal in the United States		\$70	\$240	
Total amount of funds trans- ferred by way of donation on the part of the World Jewry in Israel	\$400	\$120	\$430	\$12,200

(5). These figures were compiled from Jon Kimche, "Palestine or  
Israel" pp.270-273.

THE JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR SUPPORT TO  
ISRAEL IN WAR

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Israel is a young <sup>Polity</sup> ~~nation~~ created as a Jewish State in 1948 within the territory of Palestine held by Britain under a League of Nations Mandate. Modern Israel's inhabitants are preponderantly Jews.

The creation of the modern State of Israel was the culmination of 50 years of efforts by the World Zionist Organization. The new State is sustained by the Jewish people with their strong culture and economy. The emergence of the Zionist movement and events connected with World War I influenced the development the State.

Herzl's death did not affect the course of the Zionist movement. Parties arose within the moment, such as the Democratic Zionist Faction, from which hails Chaim Weizmann, later first, President of Israel, and the Workers of Zion Party, to which belonged David Ben-Gurion, first Prime Minister of Israel.

The above facts provide ample evidence as to how Israel came into existence and how it has been assisted by world Jewry. The Jewish National Fund was established with the objective of redeeming the soil of Eretz-Yisrael from alien hands and its transfer to the hands of the Jewish settlers.

The establishment of a Jewish Society all over the

world is a significant part of the Zionist movement. Many services are rendered by these societies or agencies. Some are managed by individuals, others are official in nature, but a wide variety of these services are considered to be the responsibility of the entire Jewish community. That means the Jewish (55) Agencies wherever they exist, are responsible for the economic aid, welfare services, health, cultural and vocational services.

The World-wide Zionist movement for the welfare of Jews developed into International Zionism which is more than a reactionary racist-nationalistic ideology of the Jewish big bourgeoisie. It is also part of the imperialist monopoly banks, trusts, corporations and companies whose owners are bound together by business, blood, national ties, and the common ideology of Zionism.

The Zionist monopoly capital, which is a component of imperialist capital, plays a substantial role in its war industry. Its establishment is the

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(55). Sachar, The Course of Modern Jewish History, (New York, 1958), p.378.



Lazarel Brothers' banking house which controls the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, the Pentagon's leading purveyor and producer of F-104 (Starfighters) fighter-bombers, C-130 and C-141 transport planes, air-missiles, naval electronic equipment and other material.

From 1950 to 1971 Lockheed Aircraft obtained military orders exceeding \$20,000 million dollars. This considerably enhanced the financial power of the Lazarel group of which the London Times wrote that "it was unlikely that any other house in Wall Street has such position in real estate, as the Lazarels did."

The Lazarel allocated fairly large sums for aid to Israel and takes an active part in developing her war potential. It does so through Zionist Organizations or agencies. It headed the American Jewish Community, the National Jewish Scouts and the Joint "Charity" Society.

Just as powerful as Lockheed is the General Dynamics Corporation which was established at the end of last century. Isaac Rice played a big role in financing this monopoly is now taken over by the Lehmanns, one of the twenty

richest families in the United States. General Dynamics is a leading U.S. aircraft-builder and the Pentagon's second biggest supplier. It produces nuclear powered submarines, missiles, bombers and other material.

David Packard, the present President of General Dynamics, is one of the ~~30~~ richest men in America and was until recently Under Secretary of Defence. He wrote in the Zionist magazine Jewish Observer and Middle East Review that the United States had to give or sell arms to Israel so that the latter could carry the heavy burden put on her by the U.S.

Millions of dollars are donated for Zionist aims, it is admitted by Ausweg (a German language newspaper) published in Vienna by General Motors, the American super-monopoly which is not only the world's biggest producer of automobiles but also one of the ten biggest suppliers of material to the Pentagon.

Another regular contributor to Zionist funds is Robert Stevens, President of the J.P. Stevens and Company, and one of the world's biggest manufacturers of uniforms. He also was Secretary of the Army in the Truman Administration. At the time Israel attacked Jordan, Egypt and Syria, he gave the Zionists \$150,000.

Israel is also actively supported by the Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank, headed by Ralph Lazarel, one of the biggest share-holders in the American War Industry. It is the Bank that finances the McDonald Aircraft Corporation, makers of the Phantom fighter-bombers - the backbone of the Israeli striking force.

Huge sums are allocated for aid to Israel by U.S. oil monopolies, chiefly by the Rockefeller's Standard Oil of New Jersey. There are many other oil cartels directly controlled by Zionist capital, such as the Standard Oil of Indiana, headed by Jacob Blanstein. This active Zionist led the American Delegation to the Zionist Conference in London in 1945, and held key posts in several Zionist Organizations. At present he is on the Board of Directors of the Joint American United Funds for Israel, and the Jewish Federation and Charity Funds Council.

The group of war monopolies was linked in one way or the other with Zionism, including major American concerns like the General Tyre and Rubber Company, the Radio Corporation of America and the Sperty Road Corporation.

In Britain, international Zionism controls the Rothschild banking house, Western Europe's biggest arms-producing concerns - Vickers (warships, nuclear-powered submarines,

tanks, aircrafts, missiles). Its annual turnover exceeds £200 million and in 1970 it earned a profit of £5 million.

In France, active Zionist-Marcel Dassault, one of the biggest capitalists in the country, heads the firm bearing his name that produces Mirage war planes. For a long time a group of Israeli specialists worked at the Dassault plants on the medium range MD-660 ground-to-ground missiles for Israel. When the French Government imposed an embargo on arms deliveries to Israel, the blueprints were sent to Tel Aviv, and used to produce in 1971 the Jericho missile, capable of carrying nuclear warheads.

The French Turbomica Company headed by the Zionist Szydlowski (it makes jet engines for bombers) built a plant to manufacture aircraft jet engines in Israel immediately after the institution of the ban on arms shipment to that country.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, substantial assistance to the Zionists is rendered by the Head of the West German Deutsche Bank, Hermann Abs (relative of the Hermanns in the United States). He is associated with the Supervisory Boards of more than thirty leading West German war monopolies, including the Krupp concern and the Daimler-Benz tank and automobiles producing company either

as Chairman or as Vice-Chairman. Besides regular secret subsidies the Deutsche Bank has granted Israel a \$15 million credit for fifteen years.

Linking with the war monopolies in the United States, Britain, Federal Germany, France and other Western countries is the group of South African multi-millionaire and active Zionist Harry Oppenheimer, who regularly attends the "Conference of Millionaires" in Israel. The assets of his industrial empire are estimated by France Press at \$5,000 million. Oppenheimer controls the production of strategic raw materials in the Republic of South Africa - Uranium, Copper, Vanadium, Chrome and Lead as well as 23 per cent of the world's gold output, and 80 per cent of the world's trade in industrial diamonds.

He gives generous financial aid to the Tel Aviv Government and helps Israeli businessmen place profitable orders in South Africa. Oppenheimer also facilitates delivery to Israel of heavy armaments manufactured in South Africa. His ties with the Rothschilds, Guggenheims, Rockfellers, Abs and other financiers and industrialists propping up international Zionism are already well-known.

These are only the main sources that render financial aid and support the Zionist organizations in the West

and to Israel. Their representatives regularly participate in the "Conference of Millionaires" who support Israel financially and economically.

The Zionist lobby and monopolies, thus, exert strong pressure on their host governments in favour of Israel to enable it not only to maintain a state of confrontation with its Arab neighbours but to endanger world peace at large.

### THE ROLE OF THE NEWS-MEDIA

The place that news media has come to occupy in the affairs of sovereign states, in their relations with one another as well as in their treatment of their citizens, in the affairs of political parties, as well as those of public and private business is almost all pervading. Whether it is influencing public opinion to rally them round the policies of the government, or it is popularising a particular product or any specific brand of it, the media steps in imperceptibly. The tremendous advances that have been achieved in the domain of communications, have made the task easier than ever.

Though public opinion has played a role in moulding the behaviour of communities at all levels - local, national and international - since very early times, the term in its modern connotation came in vogue only with the closing years of the eighteenth century, while nineteenth century saw the application of the theory of public opinion. The dawn of the era of republics, democracy and liberty, made public opinion an essential ingredient of the political process.

To quote Mackinnon a century since:

"Public opinion may be said to be that sentiment or any given subject which is entertained by the best informed, most intelligent and most moral persons in the community, which is gradually spread and adopted by nearly all persons of any education or proper feeling in a civilized State."<sup>(56)</sup>

Gustave Le Bon, the first to appraise masses of people in a modern sense, could foresee the trend as early as the end of the 19th century:

While all our ancient beliefs are tottering and disappearing, while the old pillars of the Society are giving way one by one, the power of the crowd is the only force that nothing menaces, and of which the prestige is continually on the increase. The age we are about to enter will in truth be the era of crowds."<sup>(57)</sup>

To Lippman, the noted American journalist, public opinion, must of necessity, be based largely on mythology. According to him a myth may be wholly true, partly true,

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(56). W. MacKinnon, On the Rise, Progress, and Present State of Public Opinion, p.15

(57). Gustave Le Bon, The Crowd, a Study of Popular Mind (London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1896 translation), p.32.



or false. "What a myth never contains is the critical power to separate its truths from its errors. For that power comes out by realising that no human opinion, whatever its supposed origin, is too exalted for the test of evidence." (38)

It is the skillful use of communication and information media which sets the tone of public opinion and hence the importance of mass media in present day society, more specially in the sphere of business and politics. When it comes to propaganda which F. Tonnies characterises as the 'agitation of public opinion on a large scale for the purpose of spreading an idea without regard to its truth or accuracy," these media are exploited for subjecting minds, distorting facts, and interfering with the freedom of choice. Propaganda, being highly motivated, selects the contents of communication in such a manner as to influence attitudes on controversial issues.

The written word, the spoken word, and the visual image are the vehicles which are employed to achieve the

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(58). Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (1922)

goals of propaganda of which the conventional manifestations are the Press, books, broadcasting, the cinema, television, etc. Other more subtle means of propaganda are tourism, cultural and educational exchanges, emigration, and official visits by those who hold high offices, all of which imply personal contact in varying degrees.

Having the comparative advantage of letter education, high degree of attainments in sciences and technology, and having been trained during the two world wars both in the skill of actual warfare as well as the art of psychological warfare and propaganda, the Jews have always had an edge over Arabs who were simple naive and inexperienced in this sphere.

From Rome and Jerusalem (1862) of Moses Hess and Judenstaat (The Jewish State) of Herzl to the present day, myriads of books propagating the Zionist cause and epitomising the Jews have flooded the bookshops and libraries - private and public - of the world and have silently but persistently built up a sizeable opinion in favour, first, of the creation of a Jewish State and then for its territorial expansion and viability, both political and economic.

The Jewish scholars and scientists that are spread in the universities, technical institutes and research centres all over the world have worked in one way or the other for the cause of Zionism and the Jewish State. The innumerable cultural centres established manned and financed by the Jews have performed the job of projecting the image of the persecuted and oppressed Jew to arouse public sympathy. This sympathy was won in the name of "Humanitarianism" - a term which was given widest publicity by the Jews.

The Jewish Radio, TV, theatre, cinema, and press have in unison repeated the same theme in countless and novel ways to the people at home as well as the public abroad. The potentialities of tourism have been fully made use of for the cause of the Jewish State.

How perfectly these media have been controlled and used by the Jews in the United States can well be understood by the fact that while at the end of the nineteenth century the Reform paper American Israelite could say that all Jewish papers edited or controlled by native Americans were "strongly anti-Zionist, and noted again in 1904 that "there is not one solitary prominent native Jewish-American who is an advocate of Zionism", to the present

when no reputed paper - no matter how honest and well-meaning - dare print a word of criticism against Zionism.  
(59)  
To quote Lillienthal:

"The capture of the American Press by Jewish nationalism was, in fact, incredibly complete. Magazines as well as newspapers, news stories as well as editorial columns, gave primarily the Zionist views before, during and after partition - If the Zionist story could not be presented straight, it could always be smuggled in under humanitarian disguise. Even the most objective story on Displaced Persons carried a Zionist propaganda message."

The moment a piece - even a readers' critical letter - appeared in a New York paper, every conceivable pressure was applied - innumerable telephone calls to the editor, the news desk, and the advertising department, and a flood of letters of protest. Though normally the papers would not yield to pressure, but in this case they were quite vulnerable since the charge of anti-Semitism would be immediately levelled against them. It was only rarely that a disagreeing voice would be heard, as the publisher of New York Times remarked publicly in November 1946: "I dislike the coercive methods of Zionists who in this country have

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(59). Lillienthal, (fn.4), p.124.

not hesitated to use economic means to silence persons who have different views. I object to the attempts at character assassination of those who do not agree with them." (50)

After interviewing a representative group of daily and weekly newspaper editors over the Palestine issue (1947), Opinion News, the official organ of the National Public Opinion Research Centre of Denver, Colorado reported that 50% opposed partition and favoured a unitary Palestine; 30% went along the UNSCOP majority, and 10% favoured a federalized state. But these personal opinions never appeared on the pages of their papers, in fact they carried a clear pro-Zionist stand. (61)

The success with which Zionist groups and agencies manipulated the news media is clearly borne out by the fact that while the papers were full of the harrowing tales of persecution of the Jews and the miserable plight of Jewish refugees, the one million distraught Arab refugees who were forced to suffer power hunger and privation were seldom given a column in news reporting.

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(50). Ibid., pp.125-126.

(51). Ibid., pp.127-128.

Damaging reviews would swarm any public opinion that would dare take an independent stance on the problem. Whether it was Mrs. Mark Ethridge who in Going to Jerusalem also described the misery of Arab refugees or it was Professor Millar Burrows' (Yale School of Divinity) - Palestine is our Business, none was spared the fury of the Zionist readership. The latter, who was known as a distinguished Bible student and archaeologist and had until 1949, always enjoyed an unchallenged reputation was taken to task since he had expressed some sympathy for the Palestine Arab refugees.

Such instances can be enumerated ad infinitum. The fact however goes unchallenged that the media of a ~~liberal democracy, which Americans never tire calling~~ their country, had become a play-thing of the Jews, the wielders of the largest purse in America, the force of which was used with exceptional expertise to distort the Arabs' image and glorify Zionism and the Jewish State, Israel.

THE PRESS

There are 22 morning and two afternoon newspapers.<sup>+</sup> Thirteen of the morning papers (two of them afternoon) - (62) most of them associated with the political parties - are in Hebrew, two in Arabic and the other appear in English, German, Hungarian, French, Polish, Yiddish, Rumanian and Bulgarian.<sup>(63)</sup> The daily papers have six to 40 pages, but Friday issues are doubled or more in size of weekend supplements. No papers appear on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath. There are around 400 other newspapers and magazines including some 50 weekly and 150 fortnightly; over 250 of them are in Hebrew, the remainder in eleven (64) other languages. The total circulation is 500,000-600,000 copies, or twenty one papers per hundred people, although most citizens read more than one daily paper.

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The two foremost morning papers sell 40,000-50,000 copies on weekdays, most of the others ranging from 5,000 to 25,000. The evening papers have larger circulation: 130,000 (65). to 160,000.

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+ See tables No.1.

(62). See Facts about Israel (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Information Division, Israel 1972), p.160.

(63). The Europa Year Book 1974: A World Survey, Volume 11 (Europa publication, London, 1974) p.617 and see The Middle East and North Africa 1972-1973, 19th ed. (Europa Publications 1972) pp.414-415.

(64). Ibid., (fn.7), p.617.

(65). See Facts About Israel (fn.7), p.161

The Israeli press Council, established in 1963, deals with matters of common interest to the press such as drafting the recently published code of professional (66) ethics which is binding on all journalists.

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(66). See the Middle East and North Africa (1972-1973, p.716.



+ The Volume of this media originating in Israel is given in a tabular form below:

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The Hebrew Morning Papers as follows:

Name	Founded	Affiliation	Editor	Circ.
Ha'aretz(The Land)	1915	Independent	Gershom G. Schocken	50000(week-days) 70000 (w.ends)
Davar (The Word)	1925	Histadrut	Hannah Zamer	50000
Hatzopch	1938	World Nizrahi	S.Daniel	11000
Al Hamishmar	1943	Mapam	Isaac Bar-Moshe	12000
Kol Ha'am	1947	Communist		
Omer	1950	Histadrut	Meir Bareli	10000
Hamodia	1950	World Augshat	IS Yehuder L.Levin	8000
She'arim	1951	Paalei Augdetis	Yehuda Nabshout	5000
Lanerhav	1954	Achdut Ha'avada	David Pedahzm	18000
Hadashot Sport	1960	Indep (Sport)		
Yayom	1966	Independent		

#### The Economy of Finance:

Sha'ar 1964  
Hom Yom 1964

#### Hebrew Evening Paper:

Yediat Aharonot 1939 Independent  
Ma'ariv 1947 "

+ These figures and names were compiled from the following sources: The Europa Year Book 1974, A World Survey, Vol.11. (Europa Publications, London 1974). The Middle East and North Africa 1972-73, 19th edition, (Europa Publications, 1972); Salma Habib: Al-Sohof Al-Israelia (Palestine Studies, Beirut) 2nd Ed., 1968) and Facts About Israel (1968, 1971 and 1972. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Information Division, Israel).

(67)

FOREIGN LANGUAGE DAILIES

Name	Founded	Language
Jerusalem Post	1932	English
Yedist Hadashot	1936	German
Uikelet	1948	Hungarian
L'Information	1957	French
Israelshie Noiveny i kuricr	1958	Polish
Letzte Naves	1959	Yiddish
L'sraelshiFar	1959	Bulgarian
Viata Noastra	1959	Rumanian
Al Anba	1968	Arabic
Al Quds	1968	Arabic

ISRAEL BROADCASTING AUTHORITY (I.B.A.)

The IBA controls radio and the television. Its Board of Governors consists of 31 members appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Government. (68)

There are five programmes for local and overseas listeners on medium, shortwave and VHF/FM in twelve languages, Hebrew, Arabic, English, Yiddish, Ladino, Romanian, Russian and

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(67). See Facts About Israel, 1972, p.160.

(68). Ibid., pp.166-167

(69)  
Georgian. The number of radio receivers 800,000.

#### Television:

Programmes for schools started in spring 1966, organized in co-operation with the Rothschild Trust. Regular television programmes in Hebrew and Arabic started in 1969. Number of TV receivers, 44,000.<sup>(70)</sup>

#### Cinema

There are 270 commercial cinema houses, with 18000 seats. Annual attendance had averaged 50 million<sup>(71)</sup>, but has dropped by more than 30% since 1973 owing to October War. The Ministry of Commercial and Industry's Film Centre authorizes tax and stamp duty refunds, loans, advance, customs exemption and monetary grants to approved feature and short artistic films made in Israel.

#### The Theatre

There are three established repertory theatre companies, Hakimah: The Israel National Theatre, founded in 1917, the Cameri: since 1970 the Tel Aviv Municipal Theatre, founded in 1944, and the Haifa Municipal Theatre, established in 1961.

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(69). See The Europa Year Book 1974, p.720

(70). Ibid., p.720; Facts About Israel, p.167 and See The Middle East and North Africa, p.715.

(71). See Facts About Israel 1972, p.164.

They all appear regularly all over the country. It supported  
(72)  
by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The American-Israel Cultural Foundation and Histadrut, helps to arrange appearances in new-immigrant centres at reduced prices to show them the life in Israel and Kibbutz to settle down.

#### Tourism

The Ministry of Tourism, which is responsible for the promotion of tourism and the supervision of auxiliary services and facilities, had offices in New York, Chicago, Los-Angeles, Atlanta, Montreal, London, Paris, Rome, Frankfurt, Zurich, Stockholm, Amsterdam and  
(73)  
Buenos Aires.

#### The Aims and of Zionist Propaganda:

The Zionist propaganda had built a bandwagon of sentimental, romantic public opinion about the "Return of Israel to its ancestral home". And that bandwagoned opinion did not make subtle discrimination between so-called practical and political Zionism which continued to intrigue some Jews.

In 23rd February 1919, the Zionist delegation was given a

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(72). See The Europa Year Book 1974, op. cit., p.725 and See also Facts About Israel 1972, pp.162-163.

(73). Ibid., p.125 and 188

(74)  
hearing by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference in Paris with Weizmann as one of the chief spokesman. To the question asked by the American Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, as to what in his opinion was the exact meaning of the term "a Jewish National Home" (75) and whether that meant an autonomous government? Weizmann's reply was: "The Zionist Organization did not want an autonomous Jewish Government, but merely to establish in Palestine, under a mandatory power an administration, not necessarily Jewish, which would render it possible to send in to Palestine 70,000 to 80,000 Jews annually. The Zionist Organization asked permission, at the same time to build Jewish schools where Hebrew would be taught, and in that way, to build up gradually a nationality which would be as Jewish as the French nation is French and the British nation British." (76) Later on, when the Jews formed the large majority, they would be ripe to establish

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(74). John Bagot Glubb, Peace in the Holy Land (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1971), p.278 (See also Lilienthal (fn.4), p.89.

(75). Chaim Weizmann, Trial and Error (London, 1949), pp.305-306 and see also, Glubb (fn.74), p.278. See Halpern (fn.4), p.337.

(76). ESCO, Palestine, 1,161; cf., ZC.211, Reports of the Executive, Political Report, p.22; See Halpern (fn.4)

such a government as would meet the requirements of a growing state and fulfil its ideals.

An American delegation sent by President Wilson in June-July 1919, known as the King-Crane Commission, reported that "The Arabs wanted complete independence for a United Syria and Palestine, but if supervision was necessary, their first choice was the United States, the second, Great Britain. The Commission further reported, "A national home for the Jewish people is not equivalent to making Palestine into a Jewish State." The establishment of such a state, in the opinion of the Commission would gravely "trespass upon the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine," and even ventured to suggest, after studying Zionist literature that "the Zionist looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the present non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine by various forms of purchase." (77)

By the twenties the Zionist tactics began to take a definite course. There were, in the first place, the diplomatic affairs of Palestine to handle. The Arabs were not reconciled to the aggressive nationalism of the Zionists. A series of riots broke out in 1920 and continued until 1939. These disturbances coupled with the ambiguity of the Balfour Declaration kept Jews embroiled in an endless game of politics. Palestine be-

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(77). Berger (fn.8), p.130.

came more and more a focus of attention and Jewish "Nationalism" was more than ever before the eyes of the world.

Many Jews attempted to rebuild their lives in new places and became a part of that voluntary shift of populations which followed the last War. Of the nearly two million immigrants to America from 1915-1920 around eighty thousand were Jews. In 1921, one hundred nineteen thousand Jews came to the United States. The small immigration figures for Palestine over a comparable period reveal nothing of this "increditable national striving of Jewry" to have a national home of its own with "a national Jewish life".<sup>(78)</sup>

From 1917-1921, nineteen thousand Jews were Palestinian Immigrants. And in only three years, before the rise of Hitler in 1932, did the figure top ten thousand. In some years it was as low as 2,178 and there were times when more Jews left Palestine than entered it! The average exodus from Palestine, until the Hitler era, was nearly 30% of the immigration. Palestine obviously played no important role in the life of ordinary Jews anywhere in the world.<sup>(79)</sup>

The "synthetic" result of this policy was the fate of a women's organization - the Daughters of Zion - founded in the United States in 1912. The purpose of this organization

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(78). Ibid., p.140.

(79). Ibid., p.140.

was to improve the medical, sanitary and hygienic conditions in Palestine. Later its name was changed to Hadassah, the Hebrew name for Esther of the Bible.

As a result of this intra-Jewish diplomacy, Hadassah<sup>(80)</sup> became the Women's Zionist Organization of America. It became the medium for the dissemination of political-nationalistic propaganda.

The policy of synthetic Zionism was further developed at the first international post-War gathering of Zionists at London in 1920, at a meeting called by Weizmann. The outstanding fact about this meeting was the presence of a large delegation from the United States, headed by Louis D. Brandies. The climax of the meeting was a violent dispute between Brandies and Weizmann. The story of Brandies' association with the movement of Zionism is something of an enigma. He made relatively few statements of his position; but there is no doubt that the association was a strong one.

Brandies played an important role in influencing Ditwile Wilson favourably on the Balfour Declaration. From the Zionist point of view the Balfour Declaration was a towering milestone: it was Britain's historical merit to make the development of a Jewish<sup>(81)</sup> national home possible.

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(80). Lilienthal, (fn.4), p.31

(81). Laqueur, The Road to War (London, 1968).



Weizmann and his friends - the champions of Zionism - wanted "a national fund with a national budget". Money to finance the projected development of Palestine was less important to them than the way in which it was collected and disbursed. As they viewed the problem, the mechanism for both of these activities must bear the national stamp. Herzl only a few years before had insisted that the bank was less important than (82) that the character of the bank be national.

The Zionists envisaged the use of money for a continuation of political activity and propaganda. The very technique of collecting the money, through annual budgets and solicitations would have the advantage of "constantly directing interest to Palestine". They were not convinced of the finality of the Balfour Declaration regarding the political future of Palestine. "Weizmann had advised them that the way to a Jewish state was slow and gradual. The Zionists accepted the declaration as a beach head, and had no intention of demobilizing the army.

The Zionists claimed that the Declaration required greater centralization of power in the hands of the Zionist Executive and for an increase in political propaganda. Meanwhile, synthetic Zionism was to induce anti-nationalists to finance the

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(82). Berger (fn.8).

"practical projects".

Brandies opposed the centralization of power in the World Zionist Executive. He favoured local organization of people interested in advancing Palestinian development. He returned to America - after the London meeting - and in 1921, in Cleveland, Ohio, when the question of American support for the Palestine Foundation Fund was put before the convention of American Zionists, Brandies attempted to maintain the position he had taken in London. He continued to support Palestinian development "by economic process and obtained the cooperation of the Joint Distribution Committee and Jewish Colonization Association to that end."

Brandies lost out to Weizmann, and a companion Fund to the Jewish National Fund was set up, known as the Palestine Foundation Fund. The money collected by the Fund was to be used in "promoting and furthering the religious, cultural, physical, social, economic, agricultural and general welfare of the Jewish settlers and inhabitants in Palestine," and to aid, encourage and promote Jewish life in Palestine.

The contribution to American Jews to this Fund was of the order of over twenty million dollars, the greater portion of which was utilized for financing practical projects in Palestine such as the General Mortgage Bank of Palestine, the Palestine Electric Corporation, and the Palestine Potash Company.

In 1935, the Fund was incorporated into the United Palestine Appeal. Subsequently, the United Palestine Appeal was joined with the fund-raising activities of the Joint Distribution Committee into the limited Jewish Appeal. Thus the corporate activity of the Jews progressed step by step.

In 1921, the Twelfth Zionist Congress met in Karlsbad. Weizmann, who had been acting head of the movement during the War years and the years of the peace negotiation, was officially designated President.

In 1922, a plan to create World Jewish Congress was projected, which would elect an England Jewish Agency to include anti-Zionists, and the Enlarged Agency in turn would replace the Zionist Organization which had been serving in the capacity of a Jewish Agency in accordance with the terms of the Mandate. This plan, however, did not materialize.

In Zurich in 1929, following the close of the sixteenth Zionist Congress, the Enlarged Jewish Agency came into being. At last, the Zionist dream of a "Jewish Parliament" had come true. It would legislate for the "Upbuilding of Palestine". The Council had 224 members, divided equally between representatives elected by the Zionist Congress and "representatives" of non-Zionists - ~~the average Jew to be more pre-~~

For, if de Haas is to be believed, the new "non-Zionist" - the average Jew to be more precise - considered Palestine a far-off, never never land. Calling them non-Zionists did not change them.

#### Political Role of Zionism:

The aim of Zionism, as stated by the World Zionist Organization at its First Congress in 1897, is to create for the Jewish people a home in Eretz Israel secured by Public Law. The 23rd Congress, held after the establishment of the State of Israel, revised this aim as follows: "The task of Zionism is the consolidation of the State of Israel, the ingathering of the exiles in Eretz Israel and the fostering of the unity of the Jewish people". This declaration makes Israel to be looked upon as the homeland of all Jews, to which the "World Jewish nation" scattered in exile is to return. This should suffice to clear any doubts or illusions held about the motives and intentions of the Zionists concealed so cleverly in their earlier potestations.

(83)  
To quote Lilienthal: "Diaspora (meaning dispersion) is the term used by Jewish nationalists to describe the status of those Jews who live outside of Israel. The term of course

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33) Lilienthal (fn.4), p.162.

implies that this status is unnatural; and Zionism indeed refers to these Jews as living in the Galut (in exile). Diaspora nationalism insists that these exiles, wherever they may be, nevertheless constitute a nation and that they are to be "in-gathered" into Israel by the process of Kibbutz Galloyot.

"The propagation of Jewish nationalism is not confined to the Zionist movement. Historical, anthropological, sociological, psychological, theological and philanthropic factors constantly generate this nationalism. Zionism is merely its political arm. It seeks to transfer Judaism, the religion into a world wide Jewish nation with its political centre in Israel: While many Jews will not be living there immediately, the established State is, nevertheless, to be regarded as the central reality around which their existence is to revolve. The long-term goal of Zionism is the liquidation of diaspora and the eventual return of all Jews to Israel".

No other statement can be as authentic and revealing as that of the first Israeli Prime Minister Ben Gurion uttered in the presence of a group of American visitors to Israel on 31 August 1949: "Although we realised our dream of establishing a Jewish State, we are still at the beginning. Today there are only 900,000 Jews in Israel, while

the greater part of the Jewish people are abroad. It consists of bringing all Jews to Israel. We appeal parents to help us bring their children here. Even if they decline to help, we will bring the youth to Israel; but (84).  
I hope that this will not be necessary.

The Israeli Prime Minister envisaged influx of an additional four million Jewish settlers over the next ten years - the majority of them of the healthy ones from Europe and the US and not the weak and infirm orientals! All kinds of fair or fowl measure adopted to stir up the Jews all over the world to leave their host countries and migrate to Israel. Israel Goldsten, for instance, inciting the American Jews said: "What are American Jews waiting for? Are they waiting for a Hitler to force them out? Do they imagine that they will be spared the tragedies which have forced Jews of the land to emigrate?" (85)

It was of necessity that this 'in-gathering' was to be expedited. Israel desperately needed manpower, it needed skilled hands, doctors, engineers, technicians, etc. All these pronouncements and cries left little doubt this

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(84). Quoted in Lilienthal (fn.4), p.191.

(85). The Day (New York), 15 March 1950.

immigration was not out of love of Zion but clearly artificially stimulated.

A lot of persuasion and often times coercion had to be applied before Jews anywhere could be made to immigrate to Israel. That out of a total of between 1000,000 and 114,000 displaced Jews in the American Zone of Germany in 1948 more than 55,000 applied for emigration to the United States a majority of whom giving their second preference for going anywhere but Palestine, should bear eloquent testimony claims made to the contrary by the Zionists. Perhaps, Rabbi Klausner was more frank and forthright when he observed: "I am convinced that the people must be forced to go to Palestine. They are not prepared to understand their position nor the promises of the future. To them, an American dollar looms as the greatest of objectives. By 'force' I suggest a programme. It is not a new programme. It was used before and most recently. It was used in the evacuation of the Jews from Poland and in the story of the 'Exodus'".<sup>(86)</sup>

As a part of this 'programme' the Zionist ideology was propagated in Displaced Persons camps; if propagation failed

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(86). See Lilienthal (fn.4), p.260

(87). Cited in Lilienthal (fn.4), p.194.

to bear fruit, terror, harassment and discrimination were resorted to, including confiscation of good rations, dismissal from work, swashing of their tools, withdrawing visa rights and legal protection from dissenters, and so on.

The redeeming of the Jews of diaspora - Arab and European countries was an avowed objective of the Zionist leadership of the State of Israel and the Arab-Israeli war afforded an opportunity for this "redemption". How the Jews of Iraq who had lived there for centuries in peace and prosperity and had enjoyed the goodwill of the government and mass of their Muslim Arabs were estrayed and alienated with the latter thanks to the manifestations of the handful of Zionist agents could be taken as a prototype of what was caused to happen in other Arab countries of the region.

While no efforts were spared to realize the Zionist objective of "in-gathering" of exiles, the "in-gathered" 240,000 Israelis were suffering for water, shelter and other bare necessities which made the United Jewish appeal to issue an emergency call for relief. The Zionists obviously were trying to bite more than they could conveniently chew.

There is a provision in the proposed constitution of the State of Israel which says: "The State of Israel is designed to be the national home of the Jewish people and shall admit every Jew who desired to settle within its



territory subject to such regulatory provisions as may from time to time be enacted by the Chamber of Deputies", which the Knesset translated into practice by enacting the Law of Return which endows every Jew with the right to come to Israel for permanent settlement. How discriminatory this law is in fact is no secret. All Jews of Israel, according to this law, automatically become citizens of the State, but none automatically become citizen of the State, but none of the 170,000 Arabs in that country can so become an Israeli citizen without proving first that he was a Palestinian citizen upto May 14, 1948 and that he had lived there continuously since the establishment of the Israeli State. (88)

The World Zionist Organization has been recognised by the State of Israel as the authorised agency which will continue to operate in the State of Israel for the absorption of immigrants from the Diaspora and the coordination of activities in Israel of Jewish institutions and organizations active in these fields.

In his balanced, scholarly, and well-documented analysis of the Zionists' role in world politics, (89) Hyman Lumer demonstrates that political Zionism, of which the goal has been the creation and sustenance of a Jewish State, has

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(88). Lillienthal (fn.4), p.204.

(89). Hyman Lumer, Zionism: Its Role in World Politics (New York, 1973), p.

superseded the old religious Zionism that prophesied an eventual return to the Holy Land with the coming of the Messiah. Aided by leaders such as Moses Hess, Leo Pinsker, and Theodor Herzl, political Zionism developed in the late 19th century, got an impetus by the rise of modern imperialism and a further push in anti-Semitism. Political Zionism's ideology maintains that Jews all over the world comprise a nation and that anti-Semitism is ineradicable. Since Jews could therefore never hope to be assimilated, a homeland for them was an imperative. Herzl launched the World Zionist Organization in 1897; political Zionism's organized drive for a homeland continued until, eventually joining with religious Zionism, the Holy Land was Chosen.

Though the United States has poured millions of dollars into Israel, and though a powerful pro-Israel lobby, connected to the Israeli Embassy, functions in Washington, yet, US Zionists have not emigrated in large numbers to Israel, there being only about 35,000 US Jews. 25,000 Israelis have become US citizens since 1956.

The Zionists have reluctantly relaxed their operation "in-gathering" vis-a-vis the US Jews, mainly because the big business, once anti-Zionist and assimilationist,

is today in the vanguard of the US Zionist movement, and supplies the much needed finance to keep the State of Israel's sagging economy. US capital dominates the Israeli economy and represents more than half of all foreign capital in Israel. Israel owes 80 per cent of her foreign dollars to the US. The Extensive Israeli intelligence network cooperates with US intelligence. Israel's course is suicidal as it is being used for imperialist aims without caring much for her own welfare.

The Zionists have also played the role of secret agents for imperialism on a world scale. Of the extent of this assistance during World War I, Jacob de Hass, a former Secretary to Herzl and a U.S. Zionist leader during the War years writes:

"... The great strength of the American Zionist Organization was in the multifariousness of its contacts and in the accurate knowledge of those in control of the human resources on which they could depend. Did the British need to obtain a contact in Odessa, or where they in need of a trustworthy agent in Harkin?"<sup>(90)</sup>

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(90). Manorah Journal, February 1928. Cited by Mason in the Daily World, May 23, 1970, p.54.

During World War II, the Polish Revisionist Zionists had migrated to Palestine and there, under the leadership of Menachem Beigin, had formed the National Military Organization, later known as Irgun Zwei Leumi.

The Jewish leaders in Israel, seeking to establish the security of the State of Israel through a policy of aggressive expansionism at the expense of the Arab peoples, have placed Israel in league with the forces of imperialism, and today above all, of US imperialism. They have made Israel's destiny increasingly dependent on the fortunes of U.S. imperialism in its own aggressive designs in the Middle East.

History has shown the imperialist powers to be highly dependable allies. The British imperialists, having issued the Balfour Declaration, then proceeded to abandon the Zionists and to use the Mandate to play Jews and Arabs against each other in a typically "divide and rule" fashion. As we have seen, Britain opposed the U.N. Partition Resolution and later incited its puppet rulers in the Arab States against Israel.

In the 1956 war, Israel was allied with Britain and France but opposed by the United States. Today, it is clear that Israel is tied very closely to the United States imp-

erialism, while its relations with French ruling circles have substantially colled. Thus, the position of these imperialist states has shifted between support and opposition as their interests have dictated.

It is therefore abundantly clear that, Israel is useful to the imperialist powers only insofar as its role serves this end, "The reactionary, suicidal character of the Zionist-dictated policy of the Israeli Government".

On a world scale, the official spokesman for Zionism is the World Zionist Organization. In Israel this body has quasi-governmental status based on the Israeli Statute Law of 1952, which says:

"... The State of Israel recognize the World Zionist Organization as the authorized agency which will continue to operate in the State of Israel for the development and settlement of the country, the absorption of immigrants from the diaspora and the coordination of the activities in Israel of Jewish institutions and organizations active in these fields."

The Israeli Government also looks upon the World Zionist Organization as an instrument for winning support for Israeli foreign policy abroad.

"As late as 1914", writes Robert Silverberg, "there were 3000,000 Jews in the United States. The annual budget of the whole American movement of \$12,150."<sup>(91)</sup>

The first growth of the Zionism, came immediately after World War 1, stimulated by the Balfour Declaration and by a wave of anti-Semitism of Henry Ford's newspaper The Dearborn Independent. With the rise of Hitlerism, the Zionist movement grew very rapidly.

After World War 11, the establishment of the State of Israel gave impetus to Zionist influence and the 1967 war brought it to its highest point. Today, Zionist organizations in the United States alone claim a combined membership of some 750,000, the largest being the Women's Zionist Organization of America (Hadassah) with well over 300,000 members. Second largest is the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA), with 100,000. Prominent among numerous other Zionist Organizations are the United Labour Organization of America (Poale Zion), the Religious Zionists of America (Mizrachi), and the Americans for Progressive Israel - Hashomer Hatzur."

The largest "non-Zionist" organization is B'nai

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(91). If I forget Thee O Jerusalem, p.60.

B'rith, a men's fraternal and religious organization with more than 500,000 members. The others include the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee. The American Jewish Congress is affiliated with the World Jewish Congress, which is an important adjunct of the World Zionist Organization.

In 1970, an American Zionist Federation was formed, seeking to capitalize on the increased support for Zionism since the 1967 war.

Since 1948, "Aid to Israel" has become the chief activity among U.S. Jews. Millions of dollars are raised every year, sums large enough to be a vital factor in the Israeli economy. The United Jewish Appeal, an umbrella fund-raising organization reports that from 1948 to the end of 1970, a grand total of nearly \$1.5 billion, some two-third of all funds raised in that period, had been allocated to the United Israel Appeal. Of the rest, which went almost entirely to the Joint Distribution Committee, an organization dispensing assistance on a world scale, a substantial part was also spent in Israel. In addition, considerable sums are raised by a number of individual organizations. Hadassah alone sends more than \$10 million a year to Israel.<sup>(92)</sup>

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(92). Lumer (fn.89), p.61.

During the 1967 war an emergency fund of US\$175 million was raised almost overnight, and in 1968 an added \$85 million was collected. At the same time, from 1951 to the end of 1970 nearly \$1.4 billion worth of long-term Israeli bonds were sold in the United States out of a world total \$1.64 billion. On this huge inflow Israel has been heavily dependent for its economic survival. (93)

In late 1971 no fewer than 88 US Senators signed a petition calling on the Nixon Administration to deliver Phantom jets to the Israeli Government. That is, because the Jewish population is concentrated in the biggest cities and in key States from an electoral standpoint, the Jewish organizations are able to make themselves strongly felt in national elections.

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(93). Ibid.



## CONCLUSION

Palestine, situated as it is in the heart of the Middle East, is the core of the problems of this region which has been the scene of four bitter confrontations during the last about two decades and a half. Both Arabs as well as the Jews have inhabited this piece of land for centuries past though the latter had virtually disappeared from the scene since A.D. 70 with the sack of Jerusalem and its destruction at the hands of Titus, the Roman conqueror. It was the tolerance of the Arabs and the Muslim world in general that accorded asylum to the Jewish escapees from the Spanish inquisition down to the persecution in Tsarist Russia until the emergence of Zionism which poisoned the exemplary co-existence of the Arabs and the Jews that obtained in Palestine prior to it.

In contrast to the hospitality and amiability of the Arabs and Muslims, the first crusade brought in its wake in 1096 A.D., massacres of the Jews in both Europe and the Holy Land, and for the next hundred years the crusaders continued periodically to cut the Jews to the sword. Curiously enough their persecution came to an end with the victory of Salah al-Din Ayyubi over the crusaders and ushered in an era of peace and prosperity for the Jews who began to trek their way to Palestine from various West European countries.

The persecution of Jewish populations in the European

countries set in with the beginning of the twelfth century. The British expelled them from their country so did France and Spain. The Jews had to suffer both in human life and property in these places. Napoleon's call to the Jews of Asia and Africa to support him in his expeditions against Egypt and Syria in 1799 and in return his promise to restore the Jews their lost grandeur and legitimate rights brought to the Jews some respite. Later on some of the orthodox prominent Jews like Moses Montefiore, began to think in terms of buying lands in Palestine and settle there. A large number of others migrated to South Wales and Canada.

In 1840 an attempt was made to woo the Turkish Sultan to allow a substantial number of Jews to settle in Palestine which, it was suggested, would win him the support of wealthy Jewry spread all over the world. Palmerston, the then British Prime Minister pulled his full weight in favour of the Jews to ensure a secure life for them in Palestine, and issued directives to the British Consul in Jerusalem to extend support to the Jews who were British subjects. This directive carried with it the seeds of the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The Jewish colonisation in Palestine, was, however, progressing slowly and gradually alongside the efforts of eminent Jews, such as Moses Hess, to enlist the support of British and French governments and their people in favour of the Jewish demand to earmark Palestine for large scale Jewish immigration and colonisation.

The period from the end of the nineteenth century to

World War I saw the involvement of Palestine, though indirect, in two movements: the Arab nationalist movement and the Zionist movement, the latter headed by Theodor Herzl. By 1917, the Jews had already established some schools and agricultural settlements near Jaffa and elsewhere. Moreover, the Zionists were also able to gain some influence in France and greater support for their mission in England. Lord Rothschild, head of the Anglo-Jewish community extended full support to Herzl who was able to secure British approval for Uganda as a territory for the Jewish National Home. In the U.S. the majority of the recruits for the Zionist Organization were from among the East European Jews. In Germany Moses Mendelson who subsequently emerged as the key personality of Western European Jewry in the early modern era, started the Enlightenment Movement to take the Jews out from inactivity, to prepare them to return to the Promised Land as well urge them to assimilate themselves with the populace of their native countries till their final return to the Holy Land.

Zionism found its first articulate presentation in Moses Hess' Rome und Jerusalem (1862). The idea of creating for the Jews a national home either in Palestine or in any other country to save them from anti-Semitism found another staunch supporter in Leon Pinsker, a Jewish physician from Odessa who was of the view that the Jews were a distinct people inassimilable with the people of their host countries. His goal was "A land of our own" though not necessarily in Palestine. Pinsker's

Auto-Emancipation lamented the miserable and ignominious condition of the Jews all over the world. Pinsker was also elected President of the Hovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion) which was active both in Russia and other European countries to encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine from these countries. A number of associations came up in Germany and other European countries to espouse Zionist cause.

As for the United States, there were in 1914 as many as two and a half million Jews mostly East Europeans, ready to support the Zionist cause having such prominent leaders as Louis Brandies enjoying national reputation in America. In Holland also the Jews being economically active and productive won the confidence of the Dutch Government.

Thus, by the close of the nineteenth century, full rights had been granted to the Jews in England, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Austria and Switzerland. In Western Europe they were considered privileged nationals of their host countries. Before World War II, the Jews throughout the world numbered 16 million. They were less than one per cent of the world's population and only about one and a half per cent of the combined population of Europe and America.

In Britain the Jews enjoyed a comfortable position up to the first quarter of the twelfth century after which their period of suffering began and they witnessed a decline during the thirteenth century both in Western Europe and England. The

persecution of Jews in these countries made them look for a place where they could settle and which they could call exclusively their own. However, this home was not necessarily to be in Palestine as both Pinsker and Herzl were prepared to consider alternatives like Argentine or even Uganda. But in face of stiff opposition from a group of his followers he had to give in and attempted to strike a deal with the Sultan of Turkey for Palestine.

The Zionist designs aimed at securing Palestine for the Jews by whatever means possible, starting large-scale Jewish immigration and colonization, as well as strengthening and fostering Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.

After enjoying a relatively calm and prosperous period in France up to the eleventh century, their lot in the centuries to follow was no better than that of their brethren in other countries. They were subjected to humiliation, plunder, arson and other forms of exploitation. Finally, they faced mass expulsion from France in 1394 on orders from King Charles VI. Similarly in Spain, after having enjoyed a peaceful breath from the middle of the 12th century to the early thirteenth century where they faced a total banishment.

In Russia the Jews entered as traders and merchants but they were considered as a threat to Christianity. Later on, however, their mass immigration running into millions was some-

how tolerated as it fitted into her imperialistic expansionist design. In 1881 mass flights of Jews from Russia began when the popular anger was turned against them as a result of their being charged with the assassination of Alexander II. Again, they were no better off under the Tsars. A prominent Jew of modern times, having descended from a long line of rabbis, Karl Marx knew little of Judaism and Jewish cultural values. In fact he was more critical towards Judaism and surprisingly favourably disposed towards Christianity. The Jews failed to stand up to the onslaughts of the anti-Semites intellectually, socially, religiously, and politically.

During 1914, the Zionist activities were centered in Germany and the movement progressed under the leadership of Weizmann. The Jewish efforts, both in the United States and Britain were aimed at securing a guarantee from the Allies that in the event of an Ottoman defeat Palestine would be recognized as a Jewish Commonwealth open to unrestricted immigration. The steady flow of Jewish immigrants during this period caused apprehensions among the Arabs who had a majority of six to one. The British held out contradictory pledges both to the Arabs as well as Jews - to the former of independence and to the latter of a National Home in Palestine to which <sup>the</sup>McMahon correspondence bears a clear witness. Even in the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 no direct reference was made to the Zionist aspirations which caused anger among Zionist circles. The Arabs

took this agreement in the nature of a provisional measure. For a time the Sykes-Picot Agreement, the Balfour Declaration, and the Hussein-McMahon correspondence were kept secret from the Arabs. The British desperately needed American help to meet the German threat and the only way of getting this help was through the U.S. Jews who wielded great influence but who who could not be won over except through a commitment to give them Palestine. The result appeared in the form of the Balfour Declaration, which the Arabs regarded as treachery but which found ready support in the U.S. administration. The wishes of the Arabs were totally ignored. The Zionists in pursuance of their objectives disregarded their views and prejudices as of no consequence. Though the Jews were promised a national home in Palestine, it never meant a "State" as Weizmann himself admitted. Moreover, that no harm should be done to the rights and interests of the existing inhabitants of the country was made clear to the Jews. But these, by and large, remained on paper, while what actually happened was completely different.

The Board of Delegates of American Israelites who watched over Jewish interests not only in America but also abroad and the Israelite Universelle Alliance of France had their counterpart in the English Board of Deputies. With the help of their supporters abroad the Jews in Palestine established schools and colleges, technical institutes and hostels, etc. Their educational system had at its base the universal primary educa-

cation. Some of the primary schools run by the Histadruth and others by the religious parties. Secondary education remained a private venture, at the top was Hebrew University to which was added a Technical College at Haifa (The Technion) and a number of other important agricultural and scientific institutes. The mandatory period did not bring about much improvement in the educational system.

A number of Moshavot - agricultural settlements, were established by Jewish immigrants in Palestine during 1870 to the early twentieth century with financial help of the Hovevei Zion movement and with the financial support and professional agricultural guidance from Edmond de Rothschild. A large number of institutions were founded by the Zionist movement between the first Zionist Congress in 1897 and World War II, e.g., the Anglo-Palestine Bank, the Jewish National Fund, the Palestine Office, the Kibbutz (communal settlements), etc. etc. The waves of immigrants that flooded Palestine one after the other brought a large number of professionals, like doctors, engineers, scientists and administrators, which gave an impetus to the growth of industry, commerce, science, culture and many other aspects of the Yishuv life beside giving it a predominantly European character. The waves of immigration which originated from more than fifty countries came to a near halt between 1939 to 1948 under orders from the mandatory government.



Created by Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations in 1918, as part of the Versailles Treaty, "Mandate" was a new concept in international relations which gave under the charge of the 'Advanced Nations' the administration of less developed areas not mature enough for self-government on behalf of the League. Syria and Lebanon were given to France, Iraq and Palestine placed under the tutelage of Britain and so on. The Arabs, however, did not relish the idea of mandate.

While at the initial period of the Mandate Arabs abstained from the administration of Palestine on the question of ration of their representation therein, there were three "governments" that administered Palestine then that represented imperialism, Jewish settlers, and world Jewry. The fourth tried to represent the majority of Palestinian people - Muslim and Christian Arabs. The Mandate administration had instructions to work for the eventual establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. The Zionist movement having the Jewish Agency as its mouthpiece was recognized by the administration. The League of Nations, by Articles 2, 4, and 6 of the Mandate, expressed agreement with the principle of establishing "National Home for the Jews in Palestine". The Arabs became bitter and riots broke out. When efforts made to reconcile the two sides did not bear fruit, partition was recommended as a solution by the Royal Commission in 1937.

Disturbances continued unabated and another Royal Commission, viz., the Peel Commission was appointed which recommended the termination of the Mandate and the Partition of Palestine into a Jewish State and an Arab State. The Arabs rebelled openly in 1938. Another Anglo-Arab-Jewish Congress was called in London without bringing the disputants any closer leading to the White Paper of 1939 that denied that the British Government wanted Palestine to become a Jewish State and also restricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and acquisition of land by them. The provisions of the White Paper though reluctantly accepted by the Arabs were totally rejected by the Zionists and ultimately led Great Britain to give up the Mandate in 1948.

World War II came as a boon to the Jews who capitalised on the world-wide sympathy for their persecution at the hands of the Nazis. The Arabs were on the side of the Nazis while the Jews with their enemies. As a reward the Jews were allowed to organise terrorist groups in Palestine like the Haganah, the latter cooperated with the British army during the War and for former trained the Haganah personnel in a variety of military techniques. The sympathy of Orde Wingate with the Jews and his eagerness and success in raising a Jewish army further strengthened the position of the Jews in Palestine and prepared them sufficiently in advance for their future confrontations

with the Arabs.

With the beginning of the nineteenth century the Jews had begun to trek to America from Central Europe as well as from Germany boosting the number of American Jews to 300,000 in 1870 and began to multiply at an unprecedentedly higher pace, until by 1933, the number shot up to four and a half million in the world Jewish population of fifteen and a half. The pro-Zionist U.S. stance evoked criticism from foreign policy experts as this might affect their relations with the countries of the region. The rise of Nazism, the destruction of European Jewry, and the plight of the Displaced Persons won unwavering American support and sympathy for the Zionist cause. The American Presidents, one after another, supported the cause of the Zionist movement and became instrumental in strengthening it, though often in their own interests, making such support as a cornerstone of their national policy. American interests in the area were too obvious with the former trying to carve out for itself a sphere of influence in the region, and none under the circumstances, in view of the administration could prove a more dependable and strong ally than the Jews who had proved their utility at home. The United States, therefore, under pressure from Zionist organizations, extended its fullest support to the Zionists and put pressure on the British and sought from them a reversal of their 1939 White Paper. Ben Gurion, then Chairman of the Zionist Executive, presented in 1940 his

plan that envisaged opposition to the policy of the White Paper, formation of a Jewish army, and conversion of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth after the War.

The White Paper made the centre of gravity of the Jewish political activity shift from Great Britain to America which seemed to emerge as the guardian of the project for a Zionist State. A Conference was called in May 1942 by the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs at Biltmore Hotel, New York, and adopted the famous Biltmore Programme. It called for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, unrestricted immigration and a free hand for the Zionists to develop 'the unoccupied and uncultivated lands in Palestine'. The Programme became a bait for the Jewish votes and money in America two years later in the Presidential election when both Republicans and Democrats vied with each other to help the Programme materialise. The pledge was redeemed when Truman wrote to British Prime Minister Attlee in August 1945 to admit into Palestine 'as many as possible' of the nonrepatriable Jews from refugee camps in Europe.

The British tried to coordinate their Palestine policy with that of the United States to work out a formula acceptable both to Arabs as well as the Jews, but failed, and this failure led her to refer the issue to the United Nations. It would be incorrect to assume that there was complete unanimity among the

Zionist groups regarding the form and content of a Jewish State, e.g., the League for Arab-Jewish Rapprochement which was active in fostering a bi-national concept. Others insisted that not Palestine alone but both sides of Jordan must make a Jewish State as well as those who were content with establishing a Jewish State in part of Palestine.

Disregarding British wishes that sought a solution of the Palestine problem within the broad framework of the White Paper of 1939, the American Congress declared in 1944 that "the doors of Palestine shall be open for free entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full opportunity for colonisation so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."<sup>1</sup>

The failure of Britain to strike common ground with the United States made her surrender the Mandate on May 14, 1948 and refer the issue to the United Nations. The Palestine ball had thus come to the United Nations' court whence events moved with great rapidity to the tragic conclusion the harm done by which persists to this day.

A U.N. Sub-Committee appointed to review the whole issue in depth submitted two reports in September 1947. The majority report recommending Palestine to be constituted into

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1. Nadav Safran, The United States and Israel (Cambridge, 1963), p. 38.

an independent Arab State, an independent Jewish State, and an international regime for the holy town of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and their rural suburbs. An alternative federal plan suggested by India, Iran and Yugoslavia that sought to preserve the unity of Palestine was turned down. The U.N. Plan known as the Partition Plan with economic union was accepted by the Zionists but the Arab Higher Committee, as the spokesman of Palestinian Arabs, concerned at the predisposition of the members of the Committee to accept the Zionist recommendations, rejected the Committee itself through a cable to the UN Secretary-General for the following reasons:

1. Failure of the U.N. to terminate British Mandate over Palestine;
2. Failure of the U.N. to detach the Jewish world refugee question from the Palestine problem;
3. The transgression of the interests of the Palestinian inhabitants in the name of the world religious interests although these latter were not the subject of contention.

The U.N. General Assembly however, went ahead with the adoption of the Partition Plan despite Arab opposition because the two major powers, the U.S. and the USSR concurred on the issue - a rare and puzzling spectacle indeed!

The American support to the Partition Plan which fulfilled Zionist aspirations in-as-much as it legalised their

existence and bestowed upon it international recognition was almost a foregone conclusion for its known pro-Zionist stance dictated by domestic pressures, but her over enthusiasm was shocking even to its friends in the Arab world. One might say that despite its best intentions the world body has been prevented from playing the role of an objective arbiter in international disputes by big power concurrence or rivalries. The forum has almost been relegated to the position of a hand-maid as has been demonstrated in many a crisis situation during the history of Arab-Israeli confrontation. The resolutions of the U.N. were respected by Israel in their utter disregard or persistent violations because of the unwavering support of the U.S. that not only guaranteed its secure existence but its expansionism against its Arab neighbours. The meeting that took place between Lyndon Johnson, ex-President of the United States and Levi Eshkol, ex-Prime Minister of Israel when the President known for his Zionist attitudes replied on being asked by Eshkol for the United States guarantee of the borders of Israel, "You are asking me to guarantee your borders? What borders do you want me to guarantee?"<sup>2</sup> Vladimir Jabotinsky, during the Sixteenth Zionist Congress of 1929 had articulated the Zionist conception of Palestine as follows:

What is Palestine? It is an area, whose essential geographical characteristic is that the Jordan River flows not along its frontier but through the

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2. Newsweek January 22, 1968.

middle of it.<sup>3</sup>

No less revealing is the comment of Ben Gurion on the report of the 1937 Peel Royal Commission. Ben Gurion remarked:

This Jewish State now being proposed to us is not the Zionist aim..., but this will be a decisive stage in bringing about the great Zionist aims. In the shortest possible time, to our historic objective.<sup>4</sup>

The Jewish intransigence backed by the might of the United States has rendered almost meaningless Resolution 242 (1967) of November 1967 which remains unimplemented to this day and thus remains evasive the peace that is so much needed in this strife-torn region. The same fate has been the lot of the U.N. resolutions on the Palestinian refugees who have been living a miserable and precarious existence for about three decades now. The UNEF, however, has oftentimes been able to fulfil its responsibility by diffusing explosive situations and containing conflagrations on many an occasion.

There should be little doubt as to the role of the world Jewry, and more especially that of the United States, in making Israel what it is from a non-entity that it once was. The Jews' political support to the contestants in the U.S. elections, its control of the media of mass communication and propaganda channels, as well as the weight of its financial contribution, one

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3. Joseph Schechtman, The Vladimir Jabotinsky Story: Rebel and Statesman (New York, Thomas Yoseleff, 1956), Vol. I, pp. 112-113.

4. Bar-Zohar, The Armed Prophet, p. 61.



would assume, have made all the difference. Though the liberalism of a free society and sympathy for the persecuted Jews made their own contribution in ensuring U.S. support which ultimately helped the Zionists to proclaim the State of Israel which appeared on the map of the Middle East for the first time in 1948. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the U.N. Partition Resolution were only significant steps that helped in the achievement of this objective. A population was provided where there was none in a significant degree; a territory was demarcated where this insignificant minority had no rights or claims and thus made to follow the remaining attributes of a modern State, viz., sovereignty and government though not before depriving the people whose legitimacy to independence and sovereign rule was unquestionable according to the norms of international law and usage.

The wholesome backing of their most powerful ally made the Zionists so headstrong that they did not hesitate to assassinate the U.N. representative Count Folke Bernadotte the following day when he presented his final report on September 16, 1948 which was not relished by them. Israeli intransigence defeated the missions of the subsequent U.N. special representatives Ralph Bunche and Gunnar Jarring. Even the status of the Holy City has been altered in utter disregard of the U.N. resolutions in this respect.

The financial support, economic aid, and military assistance that the State of Israel received from the guarantor of its survival combined with the unlimited finances poured into the State by the world Jewry has made it wage costly wars against its Arab neighbours, maintain an expansive armaments race in the region, risk a third global war, and at the same time sustain its feeble economy.

The political structure of the State, its political parties, and factions are a continuation of what was already there prior to the coming into existence of the State but under different labels and denominations.

The Jews had created a network of organizations and agencies to safeguard the interests of the Jews all over the world and work for a common end, i.e., establishment of a Jewish State in the Promised Land, namely, Palestine. The prominent among them were: Jewish National Council (to represent Palestinian Jews and look after their interests), the Jewish Agency, executive arm of the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Territorial Organization Zangwill which looked for a territory other than Palestine for Jewish colonization, Jewish Colonial Bank to finance colonization in Palestine, the World Jewish Congress, the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Jewish National Fund, the Anglo-Jewish Association, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, etc.

All these agencies some of which were political while

others financial and economic, worked directly or indirectly for the establishment of the Jewish State in the first instance, and providing it sustenance subsequently.

However, even a cursory glance at the sequence of events that have taken place during the last half a century should prove beyond doubt that the Jews who were living in Palestine and in other Arab countries with their Muslim compatriots for centuries in peace, amity and harmony did not play any significant role and were in no way responsible or instrumental in the creation of the Jewish State. To quote M.S. Agwani: "It is important to note that in contrast to the blatant anti-Semitism of the European Gentiles, Arabs and Jews lived amicably and peacefully in Palestine and the neighboring Arab lands. The Jews and the Arabs (both Christian and Muslim) even shared a common language and culture which had evolved in Palestine in the wake of its conquest by the Arabs in the seventh century A.D."<sup>5</sup>

Similarly the Jews inhabiting the Arab lands since the time of Muslim conquests lived in a spirit of understanding and cooperation with the Muslim populace and never felt the necessity of having a separate State of their own. They therefore did not play any significant role in the creation of the State

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5. M.S. Agwani, The West Asian Crisis 1967 (Meerut, 1968), p. 2.

of Israel. In fact the Zionists find it hard to convince them and lure them into leaving their ancestral homes to migrate to Israel. Thus it were the Zionists outside Palestine and other than the Jews living in complete harmony and good will in the Arab lands, who launched this movement based in countries of Europe and America who, were responsible for disturbing the peace and tranquillity of the region and creating a State that has won the seeds of endemic enmity and hatred between the Arabs and the Jews.

In Hyman Lumer's view, "Actually, Zionism gives encouragement to anti-Semitism. First, it accepts the premise of the anti-Semites that Jews can never become full citizens of lands in which they live ...".<sup>6</sup> It was the anti-Semitism of the Christians and the Nazi persecution and ghettos for which the Arabs were not responsible directly or otherwise that created the Jewish problem but for which curiously enough the Arabs have been forced to pay a heavy price. The British rewarded the Jews with the Balfour Declaration that promised a "National Home for the Jews in Palestine" though certainly not a 'Political State' which the Zionists tailored out of the Declaration. The United States by backing the Partition Resolution and by being the first to recognise the State on its first proclamation, by providing every possible assistance out of all proportions

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6. Hyman Lumer, Zionist, Its Role in World Politics (New York, 1973), p. 68.

to make the new State not only survive and sustain but to expand much beyond the boundaries laid down in the U.N. Resolution, all all this was owing to the impact of Zionists on both the American public as well as the administration. The expenditure that the U.S. has incurred on account of Israel and to enable to maintain its intransigence, could have brought prosperity and well being to the entire region of the Middle East if spent equitably.

It is Zionism which sullied and corrupted Judaism and violated the sanctity of the land which was so carefully preserved over the ages by Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike even though the former were always in the majority.

The birth of the State of Israel set off a chain of confrontations which has not known an end over since. The diaspora of the Jews ended and that of Palestinians began. The unlimited immigration of Jews from all over the world necessitated an extension in the boundaries of the State and hence the wars and expansionism became a cornerstone of Israeli policy vis-a-vis the Arab States. The Zionists believed that the Jewish State would eventually embrace all Palestine.<sup>7</sup> The Deputy Prime Minister of Israel Yigal Allon declared in 1968: "Our duty to populate 'Greater Israel' is no less important than in the past ...; he who doubts this truth doubts the entire Zionist conception."<sup>8</sup>

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7. Lamer (fn. 6), pp. 34-35.

8. Jerusalem Post 18 April, 1968.

The practical manifestation of this belief has been that the twenty seven years between 1948 and 1975 have witnessed four major wars and countless armed clashes of varying intensities. The first confrontation came immediately after the proclamation of the State of Israel in May 1948. The Arabs failed on the battle field while Israel succeeded both on the battle ground as well as on the propaganda front. The world Jewry mobilised all its resources to project its image as an extension of liberal thought, freedom and western democratic institutions in an otherwise backward and uncivilized environment, as well as a watch-dog of the strategic and vital economic interests of western nations in the region. It symbolised, as the West believed the Western resistance to the potential danger posed by the possible influence of Communism in the Area. The war however rather created more problems than solve any of the basic issues. To quote Commander E.H. Hutchinson, American Chairman of the Israeli-Jordan Armistice Commission:

The brief official Palestine war of 1948 is now a part of history - it settled none of the basic issues of Arab-Israeli contention. The major powers of the West and the East, losing sight of the true value of a friendly Arab world in the swirling clouds of Zionist propaganda, overran the rights of the indigenous population of Palestine - the Arabs. Every step in the establishment of the Zionist State had been a challenge to justice.<sup>9</sup>

The second major confrontation came in 1956 when Israel,

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9. E.H. Hutchinson, Violent Truce (New York, Devin-Adair, 1956), p. 95.

to consolidate its claim on the consistent support of Western nations joined hands with France and England to invade Egypt on the pretext of forcing Egypt to respect international law by revoking her decision to nationalise the Suez Canal and opening it for international navigation. Here again the propaganda machinery of Israel as well as that of England and France and some other European countries painted Arabs before the world as a selfish people who were bent upon harming the interests of other nations. Once again Arabs failed to reckon the value of communications media and propaganda though the behaviour of Israel was also an eye-opener for those who had come to believe the inhabitants of the tiny Israeli State as innocent and harmless people suffering anti-Semitism of the Gentiles on the one hand and at the hands of uncivilised barbarous Arabs on the other.

The growing frequency and intensity of the guerilla attacks across the borders of Syria, Jordan and Lebanon was just one of the pretexts that came handy to Israel for launching the pre-emptive strike in 1967. The latter fully exploited the gradual increase of Soviet influence in the Arab countries and began to harp on the danger of communism to cause concern among her Western allies, especially the U. S. to win its support without which Israel had lesser chance of survival and no none of further expansion. Sophisticated American armaments began to pour into Israel and the result soon appeared in the

aggression of 1967.

While as a result of the June 1967 aggression Israel came to occupy large chunks of territories of Syria, Egypt and Jordan, it also carried a new and important element that went in favour of the Arabs, namely, that an awareness began to dawn upon the countries of the Third World that unless Israel and her allies were made to feel guilty for the wrongs they committed against the Arabs, they would lend no importance to the so-called world public opinion. One after another, a number of big and small states outside the Arab world began to sever diplomatic relations with Israel to express their resentment against Israeli aggression and sympathy with the Arab cause.

The Six-Day war did not weaken the resolve of the Palestinians to struggle for the recovery of their home land from the aggressor. The Palestinian commando attacks inside Israel as well as operations in the air and on the ground anywhere while evoking mixed reaction in the world served to keep their issue alive. As they argued, even if they perished in this struggle they stand to lose nothing except an unbearably miserable existence.

Israel once again failed in its objective despite its total military victory over Arabs and felt frustrated for not being able to settle the matter of the recognition of her existence by the Arabs once and for all. Moreover, the fog of Israeli propaganda over the world began to thin out with a converse



rise in the credibility of the Arabs and the propagation of their cause. Once again peace which Israel sought so eagerly and anxiously - an imperative for Israel's existence - was nowhere in sight. The gulf between the two sides became wider and the sounds deeper. The war once again proved that peace cannot be won through wars; that once war leads to another as did the 1967 to the 1973 - none to peace. It was the war of attrition - too costly for Israel - that separated the war of 1973 from that of 1967.

The October 1973 War provided a package of surprises both for the common Israeli, who had by now accustomed to live in a world of make-belief, to the Israeli soldier, who had become over-confident and thought his army invincible, to the Arabs whom a multitude of complex circumstances had forced into a defeatist psychology, and the world at large who had by now come to take Israeli victory and Arab defeat for granted.

For the first time since 1949, the Israelis have not won a crushing victory, nor have the Arabs suffered a clear defeat. Although they have not won a military victory, the Arabs have a certain feeling of strength: Henceforward they can hope to fight without losing. This marks the end of the Israeli legend. The Arab States have realised that the balance of forces is no longer completely against them and that the balance of riches is, if any thing in their favour. As for the Israelis, though they have not been conquered, they no longer feel themselves unconquerable. Their defense system is not impregnable and they can be subjected to counter-attacks. The Arabs have

counter-balanced the Israeli credit reserve - the Diaspora Jews - by their own strategic reserve comprising numbers, space, and oil. The war has brought Israel face to face with internal as well as external crises - internally its structures are shaken, externally it is more isolated and still more dependent.

The use of oil as a political weapon that the Arabs employed so intelligently during the 1973 war against Israel scored brilliant results. It was for the first time that Europe, America and the industrialized world whose economies were shaken to the very foundation, suddenly realised that the Arabs also carried some weight in world affairs. America was deserted by her allies. The NATO alliance showed signs of cracks. Ignoring the pressure of Zionist lobbies the countries of Europe whose measurements of justice always bore the stamp of Jewish pressure, now began to see real justice. Winter in the Western countries became colder without Arab oil. The countries who had never spoken a word of sympathy for the Arabs came out with pro-Arab resolutions. Though De Gaulle, the French President had begun the process in 1967 itself, of an independent European policy, it came of age during the 1973 oil crisis when they adopted a policy vis-a-vis the Arab-Israeli war which gave a shock both to Israel as well as Americans.

The diplomatic and information war that the Arabs

launched simultaneously with military confrontation won them the support of the Third World countries and it was Israel which was put in the dock this time since the Arab countries waged a war to regain their land under Israeli occupation. Both Israel and America found themselves more and more isolated since a number of African countries severed diplomatic relations with the former as an expression of their solidarity with the Arabs and support to their cause.<sup>10</sup> Israel's isolation in Europe can be accounted for by the following reasons:

1. Through her expansionism Israel has come to be regarded as a source of disturbances in the Mediterranean.

2. Europe is dependent on Arab oil, 75 to 80 per cent of its oil of which comes from the Middle East.

3. There are increasing Arab-European commercial exchanges and extensive prospects for the establishment of European firms in the Arab countries, and especially the Gulf.

4. The possibility exists of channelling Arab capital to Europe and eventually influencing the monetary system crisis. The Euro-Pinar could counterbalance the Euro-dollar.

5. Europe desires to play the role of Mediator, to be the third force, between the USA and the USSR in the Middle East.

6. There is the wish to open the Suez Canal.

7. The attitude of France towards the Arabs during 1967

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10. Ghassan Tuani, "After October - Military Conflict and Political Change in the Middle East", Journal of Palestine Studies Vol.3, No.4, Sum. 1974: p. 124.

has influenced other European countries.

Similarly there are many reasons for Israel's isolation in the African countries:

1. Israel's expansionist policy: Sinai is an Egyptian territory which is part of Africa, and Africa feels itself endangered.

2. That Israel behaves like a colonial power.

No time in the entire history of the Arab-Israeli conflict has been so opportune and propitious for a permanent and peaceful solution as the post-1973 War era. There have been those who are destined to play a decisive role in this direction. War-weariness is beginning to tell upon the confidence of the Israeli citizen who feels less secure for the first time and more vulnerable to the Arabs armed strength and fighting skill. The over-confidence of the Israeli soldier in his legendary superiority over Arab arms and men has been shaken and has forced him to reassess his position. The success of the Arabs in the 1973 war has taken them out of any inhibitions and fear of the sophistication of Israeli arms and superior fighting skill of the Israeli soldier. The illusion of a community of interests between Israel and the United States cultivated so carefully and meticulously by the Zionist lobby in the United States through whatever means it has is beginning to wear thin and a more pragmatic view is being taken of the whole gamut of US-

Israeli relationship which would be more in consonance with the United States' national interests in the global context.

The events that led to the outbreak of the 1973 war, the erosion in the strength of the United States to prevail upon its allies, European as well as Asian, and African, its growing isolation in the world, and the falsification of the myth that Israel was strong enough not only to protect herself but expand at will and hold on to it as also at the same time serve United States interests in the region has rendered it imperative for the United States to go in for a thorough reassessment of its policy and correct its perspectives of the whole range of issues involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The interests of the United States in the Middle Eastern region are so deep rooted and of such an abiding nature that it can ill afford to bear the prospect of abandoning them substantially or even partially conforming to or seeing them tagged only with the existence of the State of Israel. Moreover, even American Jewry has begun to perceive the danger of anti-Semitism once the interests of the U.S. Government and people are seriously jeopardised and hence they cannot go beyond a certain limit, which perhaps has already come. The United States now seriously considers rehabilitating its waning influence in the Arab world, patching up her differences with her allies as well as refurbishing her image in the countries of the Third World.

The world has now begun to realise that the Palestinians have suffered rather too long and they deserve justice. The fact that notwithstanding Israeli protests, the P.L.O. leader Yasser Arafat was invited to speak from the rostrum of the U.N. gives clear indication of the change that has taken place in the world public opinion. The Palestinians have already been recognised as a distinct entity and a party in the conflict by the Arabs at the Rabat conference.

The provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter with Respect to threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression, especially Articles 40-46, providing a whole range of Military, Economic and other sanctions that may be used against a defaulting State can no longer be disregarded. In the event of Israel's further refusal to heed to international norms of behaviour resort is quite likely to be had to these provisions since world opinion can no longer bear with the injustice.

Peace is the need of the hour for the Arabs, for Israelies and the world at large. Real peace that follows a sense of security and faith in the future is not dependent upon continuous military build-up, because the question that precedes the sense of peace and security persists in this situation, and that is: Who will emerge victorious in the next encounter? Four major wars have failed to bring real peace which is followed by

a sense of security and confidence in the future - a peace that takes into account the restoration of rights of the indigenous population. The ingredients of peace in the Arab-Israeli situation would mean the withdrawal of Israel to the boundaries assigned to it under the Partition Resolution of the United Nations; withdrawal from all Arab lands occupied during the entire period of her existence, and restoring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Peace precludes the existence of a Zionist State, rather it makes imperative the creation and sustenance of a liberal, democratic, secular State where people of all denominations - Arabs, Jews, and Christians - irrespective of their religion, and language can live in peace, amity, security and prosperity. Nahum Goldman, one of the architects of Israel, has described the history of Israel as one of missed opportunities and declared recently that in wrecking Kissinger's initiative Israel has missed its last chance of survival. In his view Israel stands today alone in the world community. Its isolation has become almost complete, its dependence on the USA for its very survival flagrant; its economy is in a shambles and its people walking in fear of an imminent war, death and destruction. Goldman seems to feel that the walls of this large Jewish Ghetto (Israel) are closing down on its inhabitants. He foresees that the day is very near when the Arab lands will be completely liberated and the Palestinians will go back to their homes in dignity and freedom.

As for the United States, a perceptive and discerning mind would not fail to note the uncereemonial exit of the British from the same gate through which they entered Palestine, eroding seriously their influence in the region for a long time to come. Will the United States escape a similar fate, especially after its costly experiment in Indo-China?

As for Israel, if the writing on the wall is once again missed by her and the wrong done to the Palestinian people is not corrected now, i.e., they are not allowed to return to their homes, the battle must go on.



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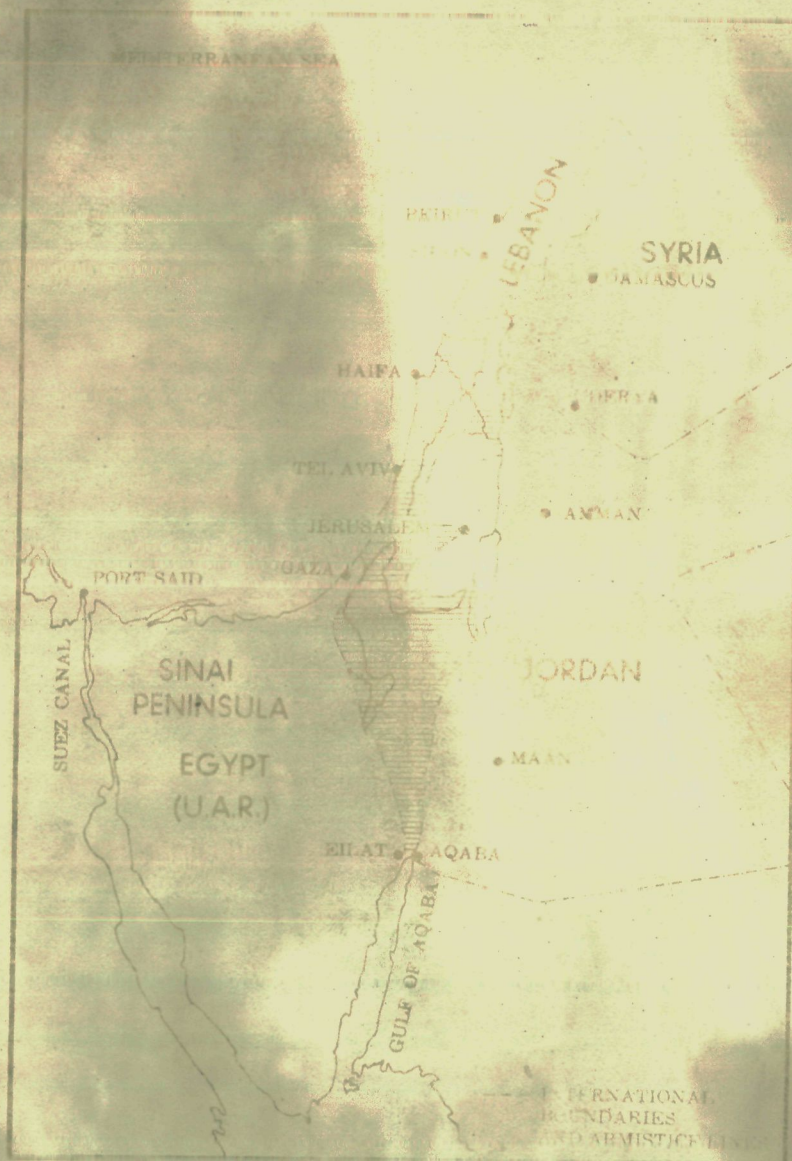
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